

THE MEDIEVAL GERMAN UNDERSTANDING OF THE  
CRUSADES : A COMPARATIVE LIGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF  
CONCEPTS CONSTITUTING THE CRUSADING IDEA IN  
MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN POETRY

Brian John Careless

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A COMPARATIVE LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF CONCEPTS  
CONSTITUTING THE CRUSADING IDEA IN MIDDLE HIGH  
GERMAN POETRY

by

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Dissertation submitted for the Degree of Ph. D. of the  
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I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself, that the work of which it is a record has been done by myself, and that it has not been accepted in any previous application for a higher degree.

The research was carried out at the universities of Tübingen between October 1968 and August 1969 and St. Andrews between September 1969 and August 1971, and part-time at various locations in the Federal Republic of Germany since September 1971.

I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance General No. 12 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph. D. in October 1968.



I hereby declare that Brian J. Careless  
has fulfilled the conditions of the  
Resolution and Regulations pertaining  
to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in the University of St. Andrews.

J.R. Ashcroft  
Supervisor

### Preface

The main purpose of this study of Middle High German literature has been to interpret the various poems in the light of historical research into the texts of crusading propaganda and chronicles. I hope that this purpose will justify the necessary historical introduction to each chapter and the analysis of Latin texts and vocabulary preceding the interpretation of vernacular poems.

It has proved more practicable to include the footnotes after the text of each chapter rather than concurrently, as many of these footnotes consist of additional line-references and present a source of further information, so that their number and length render a page-by-page allocation often prohibitive.

I gratefully acknowledge the help and encouragement which I have received from friends and teachers both in Scotland and Germany in the course of my work. In particular, my warm thanks are due to Dr. J. R. Ashcroft, who has been a source of constructive criticism, advice and inspiration during the long period of the work's formation. Without the patient and constant encouragement of my wife, it would scarcely have been completed.

B. J. Careless

# Abbreviations

<u>AEx.</u>	<u>Die altdeutsche Exodus.</u>
<u>AfdA</u>	<u>Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur.</u>
<u>AfK</u>	<u>Archiv für Kulturgeschichte.</u>
<u>AHR</u>	<u>American Historical Review.</u>
<u>Al.</u>	<u>Aliscans.</u>
<u>Archiv</u>	<u>Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen.</u>
<u>ATB</u>	<u>Altdeutsche Textbibliothek.</u>
<u>ChdR.</u>	<u>La Chanson de Roland.</u>
<u>DU</u>	<u>Deutschunterricht</u>
<u>DVjs</u>	<u>Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte.</u>
<u>EG</u>	<u>Etudes Germaniques.</u>
<u>Euph.</u>	<u>Euphorion.</u>
<u>FMLS</u>	<u>Forum for Modern Language Studies.</u>
<u>FS</u>	<u>Festschrift.</u>
<u>GR</u>	<u>Graf Rudolf.</u>
<u>HE</u>	<u>Herzog Ernst.</u>
<u>HJb</u>	<u>Historisches Jahrbuch.</u>
<u>JEGP</u>	<u>Journal of English and Germanic Philology.</u>
<u>Kchr.</u>	<u>Die Kaiserchronik eines Regensburger Geistlichen.</u>
<u>L.</u>	<u>Die Gedichte Walthers von der Vogelweide, ed. K. Lachmann.</u>
<u>MF</u>	<u>Des Minnesangs Frühling.</u>
<u>MGH</u>	<u>Monumenta Germaniae Historica (with conventional abbreviations for different sections).</u>
<u>MHG</u>	<u>Middle High German.</u>
<u>MIÖG</u>	<u>Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung.</u>
<u>MLN</u>	<u>Modern Language Notes.</u>
<u>MLR</u>	<u>The Modern Language Review.</u>
<u>MOSw.</u>	<u>Der Münchener Oswald.</u>
<u>MPL</u>	<u>J. P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina.</u>
<u>MS</u>	<u>Manuscript.</u>
<u>NA</u>	<u>Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde.</u>
<u>OF</u>	<u>Old French.</u>
<u>OHG</u>	<u>Old High German.</u>
<u>Or.</u>	<u>Orendel.</u>
<u>OT</u>	<u>Old Testament.</u>
<u>Parz.</u>	<u>Parzival.</u>
<u>PBB</u>	<u>Paul und Braunes Beiträge. (H) Halle, (T) Tübingen.</u>
<u>RHC</u>	<u>Recueil des historiens des Croisades, Historiens occidentaux.</u>
<u>RHE</u>	<u>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique.</u>
<u>RHGF</u>	<u>M. Bouquet et al., Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France.</u>
<u>RL</u>	<u>Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad.</u>
<u>Roth.</u>	<u>König Rother.</u>
<u>SB</u>	<u>Sitzungsberichte.</u>
<u>Sum</u>	<u>Salman und Morolf.</u>
<u>Wh.</u>	<u>Willehalm.</u>
<u>WiJb</u>	<u>Wichmann Jahrbuch.</u>

<u>WoJb</u>	<u>Wolfram-Jahrbuch.</u>
<u>WOsw.</u>	<u>Der Wiener Oswald.</u>
<u>WW</u>	<u>Wirkendes Wort.</u>
<u>Zfda</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche</u> <u>Literatur.</u>
<u>ZfdPh</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie.</u>
<u>ZfK</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.</u>
<u>ZfO</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für Ostforschung.</u>
<u>ZfrPh</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie.</u>

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Introduction: Survey of pertinent research and methodological considerations

Any attempt to define the vocabulary of crusading terms or to analyse the wide field of crusading concepts in MHG literature cannot avoid a confrontation with a number of associated main questions which govern both the scope of the material and the methods of its examination. In the first instance, the historical phenomenon "Crusade" may refer in its restricted sense to an expedition of papal initiation with the goal of freeing Jerusalem and the Holy Land, but is equally often applied to military expeditions against the Arab heathen in Spain, against the Slavs in East Prussia or against the Albigensian heretics in Southern France. That is to say, both the present-day critical use of this term for such military expeditions against non-Christians or enemies of the Church, and the application of similar "crusading" concepts to essentially dissimilar undertakings by the medieval papacy and clergy, present a problem of definition. In the same way, "Kreuzzugsdichtung" as a term denoting a literary genre is subject to the same restrictive or extensive interpretation with respect to the individual poet's understanding of the crusading content of his work. Although a discussion of this preliminary difficulty would seem to be a prerequisite for any analysis of vernacular literature of this period, surprisingly few answers have been given in the large body of recent research on MHG, Provençal or OF literature<sup>1</sup>. The present investigation has as one of its aims to shed some light on this problem from the standpoint of literary and linguistic analysis, because both an extensive and restrictive

definition of what constitutes crusading vocabulary and concepts would depend on and reciprocally influence an interpretation of the historical phenomenon "Crusade" and of the literature associated with it.

Another main difficulty confronting this investigation is inherent in the material itself. In studying those MHG poets who include crusading concepts in their works, we must never lose sight of the fact that there is a real difference between the fictional events they may be describing and the society for which they are writing, or between their presentation, understanding and interpretation of these events and the parallel historical expeditions with which they were acquainted and in certain cases even involved<sup>2</sup>. Thus, although a comparison of historical and literary material is essential for the main aim of this study, the dangers of confusing poetic and historical reality are clearly realised. The historical awareness of the authors of papal encyclicla and in particular of crusading chronicles is different from the historical viewpoint of the modern historian, and the inclusion of historical material in literary works by MHG poets has a more intricate purpose than the mere reflection of historical reality. The didactic content of many MHG poems entails a process of exemplification and idealisation of character and motivation which we cannot completely accept as being typically representative of the medieval society of the poet's public, although elements of historical reality are undoubtedly reflected in the poet's representation which in part allow an interpretation in terms of contemporary medieval knighthood<sup>3</sup>.

By the juxtaposition and interpretation of literary and historical material, the present study illustrates that in the crusading concepts included in MHG poetry and in the vocabulary and phraseology of MHG used to represent these concepts, the understanding of the crusading idea by poet and cleric has a common starting point, but that MHG poets interpreted the concepts constituting the crusading idea in their own way. This common understanding springs only partly from the contemporary crusading enthusiasm engendered by the preaching for any one campaign. Otherwise, crusading concepts and the associated vocabulary are either adopted from an earlier period<sup>4</sup>, or MHG poets develop contemporary opinions in a crusading context so as to go much further in a fictional situation than the crusading knight in his battles with the heathen, or the crusading priest with his sermons, or even the most liberal pope in his bulls and encyclicals were prepared to go<sup>5</sup>. That is to say, the analysis of historical and literary material illustrates how the poetic representation of those concepts constituting the crusading idea, both with respect to concepts of an older origin as well as to those developing with the Crusades themselves, at times echoes the traditional clerical position and at times constitutes a poetic interpretation of this traditional position in terms of the poet's own experience and background.

The MHG literature analysed in the following study includes those works of epic, lyric and narrative poetry which are generally considered to contain crusading elements<sup>6</sup>, which belong to that period of the 12th and 13th Centuries which may be seen as "die erste große klassische



Periode der deutschen Literatur"<sup>7</sup>, and which are a product of the historical period in which German involvement in the Crusades was at its highest. However, it will be necessary to make appropriate reference to examples of OHG literature, MHG sermons, clerical literature, early MHG literature and other MHG epics and romances to illustrate that these concepts and epithets often have a wider scope of reference than their application in a crusading context may imply. The crusading sources against which this literary material is to be juxtaposed are composed of crusading papal bulls and encyclicla, papal letters, crusading sermons and the propaganda of various preachers of the crusading idea on the one hand, and of the examples of crusading chronicles and accounts of contemporary expeditions on the other hand, the substance of which was familiar to the individual poets<sup>8</sup>. But in this analysis of historiographical material, it is also necessary to go beyond what may be referred to as purely crusading historical material, because the crusading idea did not create for itself overnight a body of concepts and a fund of epithets which were then applied to each subsequent expedition to the East or to the other areas of military activity against the heathen. The roots of the crusading idea can be traced to principles and attitudes which were current in Europe long before Pope Urban II's sermon at the Council of Clermont on 27th November, 1095, although the initiatory character of Urban's efforts should not be underrated. The concept of the imperial holy war is here of equal importance, especially in the analysis of the crusading concepts contained in such works as Konrad's Rolandslied or Wolfram's Willehalm, but also in such

Spielmannsepen as Herzog Ernst or the pre-courtly fragment Graf Rudolf, etc.<sup>9</sup>, for the relationship of the Emperor to the rest of Christendom during a historical military expedition of papal initiation was an intricate one, and the viewpoint of individual MHG poets with respect to the Emperor's rôle in their poetic representation of conflict with the heathen is important for their understanding of the crusading idea. Similarly, the feudal system of social relationships between Emperor and nobility, nobility and knights, knights and their vassals, as well as the Church's understanding of the penitential rôle of the related undertaking of the pilgrimage, have a direct bearing on the development of the crusading idea, but are essentially older than the First Crusade.

On the other hand, certain concepts constituting the crusading idea may be seen to have developed and crystallised precisely in the propaganda and chronicles of the Crusades themselves, so as to become gradually part of the stock-in-trade of papal exhortations and sermons, etc., and as such to characterise a traditional Church attitude towards the military expeditions against non-Christians during the 12th and 13th Centuries. In addition to the group of concepts contained in the preaching of Pope Urban II<sup>10</sup>, especially the crusading propaganda of St. Bernard of Clairvaux for the Second Crusade, and the letters and bulls of Pope Innocent III for the Fourth and Fifth Crusades, may be seen to have influenced and enriched the crusading idea most considerably<sup>11</sup>. The Church's changing attitude towards warfare and battle and the reaction of the military classes to the conflict undertaken against the heathen in the name

of God and Christianity, necessitated a reappraisal by Church theoreticians of the rôle played by secular chivalry in Christian society and of the effect of crusading involvement on the afterlife for the individual knight. Vernacular poets are influenced to a greater or lesser degree by such traditional theological considerations, depending in part on their individual affinity to the clergy or the knighthood. In particular, however, the Church's attitude to non-Christian religious beliefs is characterised by a hard-line reaction emphasising the superiority of Christianity, whereas the experiences of the secular knighthood in individual campaigns in the East engendered a more human and personal appraisal of their opponents and their beliefs. Vernacular literature at times echoes the traditionally uncompromising attitude towards heathen characters typical of the Church's standpoint, but also presents instances of a substantially more sympathetic attitude based on the principles of secular chivalry common to both Eastern and Western knighthood.

In this way, crusading concepts as presented in historical sources and as reflected in MHG literature can be seen to fall into three main groups corresponding to the three sections of this study: epithets and phrases for concepts of crusading activity which are basically older than the First Crusade or which illustrate an originally different though related undertaking; epithets and phrases for concepts of crusading activity which are new or are given a predominantly new emphasis, and which develop out of the crusading idea itself; and epithets and phrases for concepts which seem to go further than most of crusading

thought or even to run contrary to it. In each of the three sections of this study, the Latin terminology for the crusading concepts appropriate to each area of the crusading idea will be analysed and interpreted to present the historical background against which the reflection of such concepts in MHG literature may be examined. Such an analysis of crusading bulls and encyclicals, together with a comparison with contemporary chronicles, shows that there developed a stock collection of medieval Latin phrases and expressions which recur with constant variations in the exhortatio of such papal propaganda<sup>12</sup> - a phenomenon which has attracted considerable study. It is only in recent years of research into MHG literature that attempts have been made to draw similar conclusions for such vernacular works as are thematically related, and to endeavour to interpret them against the background of such parallels in thought-content and intention as may be seen to exist.

"Man strebt nun danach, die gedanklichen Zusammenhänge mit dem durchweg lateinsprachigen geistlichen Schrifttum aufzuspüren und den ideellen Gehalt der deutschen Dichtungen vor diesem Hintergrund interpretierend zu erfassen."<sup>13</sup>

This juxtaposition of Latin and MHG sources in terms of crusading concepts, and the interpretation of the crusading content of the MHG poems to which this leads, may be approached in several ways. In the first instance a concentration on the vocabulary of vernacular literature can lead to linguistic and semantic conclusions, although this will not necessarily reveal an appreciation of the individual poet's understanding of the crusading idea as a whole and of its relevance and importance for the poet's public.

Any analysis of the individual semantic components in MHG for a single crusading concept will similarly present only one side of what constitutes the crusading idea for the MHG poet. Again, it is possible to analyse an individual poem against the background of the clerical sources in order to judge the extent to which the poet is incorporating traditional Church concepts in his work, but this method does not lead to any conclusions with respect to the full range of Kreuzzugsdichtung as a possible literary genre. The following study therefore includes a broad spectrum of the MHG literature which concerns itself with crusading concepts, whereby the textual analysis undertaken is not restricted to narrow lexicographical comparisons or to a glossary of crusading terminology, but takes into consideration the overall presentation by MHG poets of crusading concepts with their many ramifications. That is to say, our study does not present a completely exhaustive analysis of MHG crusading material, although the footnotes will offer a fund of additional and at times copious references for comparison, but rather a representative selection of the various crusading concepts as incorporated by MHG poets in the 12th and 13th Centuries. In this way, it is possible to arrive at a definition of what goes to make up the crusading idea as a whole in MHG vernacular literature, to indicate the affinities and differences in the representation of this crusading idea in comparison with clerical literature and historical crusading sources, and to examine how far it is possible to refer to a body of crusading literature within the MHG period.

A number of critical works of modern research, in which both the crusading idea of historical reality and the reflection of crusading concepts in vernacular literature are analysed, are of special importance for the present study. The remainder of this introduction presents a survey of such works and their importance for the individual sections of this study in the sense of a Forschungsüberblick, and in particular points to the basic difference in emphasis, methodology and scope especially in those works analysing MHG literature. The development of the historical crusading idea and of the various concepts which this comprises has attracted considerable research in the field of papal propaganda and clerical literature, so that the bulk of the historical crusading material is readily available. In the field of literary analysis, however, much remains to be done to examine MHG poems against the background of related contemporary clerical and historical sources.

2. All modern research in any way associated with the nature of the historical crusading idea owes considerable debt to the work of Erdmann<sup>14</sup>, who was the first to analyse the historical development of this crusading idea in any depth. Although Erdmann maintains that the essential crusading idea crystallised in the First Crusade, he also illustrates the long historical process whereby the medieval Church, despite its traditional and fundamental opposition to the principle of war, gradually came to terms with the use of force to establish the bounds of Christendom. Certain concepts contained in Pope Urban II's preaching at Clermont and in subsequent papal and clerical propaganda developed at a much

earlier date and had already become part of the intellectual climate in Europe long before 1095. St. Augustine's justification of the bellum iustum<sup>15</sup>, the missionary activity of Gregory the Great<sup>16</sup>, the gradual christianisation of the Empire and the attachment of religious principles to the position of the medieval ruler under the Carolingians<sup>17</sup>, the defensive war for the protection of the Church and Christendom<sup>18</sup>, all form part of this development. However, it was not until the 11th Century under the reforming Hildebrandine Popes<sup>19</sup> that the Church can be seen to have taken the offensive against its enemies, and this innovation is of decisive importance for the idea of the Crusade itself, and has a direct bearing on the representation of offensive warfare against non-Christians in vernacular literature.

Blake<sup>20</sup>, who bases his findings on various historians who had analysed the crusading idea since Erdmann's groundwork<sup>21</sup>, emphasises one side to the Crusades which is of equal importance for our present study. Until the First Crusade, all forms of propaganda for military activity against the heathen had turned to such earlier concepts associated with the imperial holy war and the pilgrimage, etc., with their own specialised terms of reference. From the 12th Century, in all campaigns subsequent to the First Crusade, the basic outline for a crusading tradition had already been drawn by the experiences made in this first expedition; and although the accounts of various participants returning from the East, the commentaries of chroniclers of the period, and above all the preaching of later leading papal and clerical propagandists were to imbue the crusading idea with a number of new concepts and to expand older ones, the essential vocabulary

and the fund of phrases and epithets were now available for any repetition of such a campaign, so that former linguistic borrowings became firmly integrated in the crusading tradition.

Of particular value for an analysis of the Latin vocabulary for crusading concepts is Rousset's investigation of the sources for the First Crusade<sup>22</sup>, in which he also subscribes to the theory that the crusading idea did not find its real and complex expression until this first successful expedition. He, too, emphasises the rôle played by Pope Urban II and the fact that the characteristics to be found in the First Crusade are the result of a long development<sup>23</sup>. The main emphasis of his work, however, is to develop one particular concept at the centre of the crusading idea - namely, its redemptive nature - and to elaborate the similarities of this with the other popular religious phenomenon of medieval times and later, the pilgrimage to the shrines and holy places of especially Jerusalem<sup>24</sup>. Such similarities with the pilgrimage are of interest for the development of the crusading idea itself, and together with the redemptive nature associated with the Crusade are central to the formation of a Latin crusading vocabulary - not least because the Latin sources originally knew no single word for such expeditions and therefore borrowed such terms as peregrinatio and peregrinus from this older undertaking with its similar goals but different attendant circumstances. In this respect, MHG poets were to imitate the Latin propagandists and chroniclers in their use of the word pilgerim<sup>25</sup> for a crusading knight. The redemptive nature of the Crusade and the relationship of such a concept to the spirit of



penance characteristic of the pilgrimage are equally emphasised by Villey<sup>26</sup>, but as the title of his study suggests, his main consideration offers a fund of information for the Latin crusading vocabulary as it developed. He traces the growth of certain formalistic characteristics which he maintains must be present in the papal exhortations before the expedition may be referred to as a Crusade, and, like Rousset, he sees the First Crusade as the first such expedition to synthesise all these necessary characteristics<sup>27</sup>. Nevertheless, his concentration on these formalistic characteristics presents a somewhat narrow view of those concepts making up the crusading idea, and implies a restrictive view of the Crusade.

Another group of historians has emphasised important characteristics relating to the external organisation of the crusading movement. In particular, Gottlob<sup>28</sup> traces the history of the papal indulgence and the development of popular meaning from that of absolution from penance for one's sins to that of absolution for the very sins themselves - a very important aspect of the majority of crusading bulls and sermons, for here was to be found the promise of spiritual reward for the Crusader in return for good works carried out in the Church's name. The rôle played by the crusading bull and the crusading sermon in the developing awareness by the secular knight of both his duty to take the Cross and of the dual spiritual and material advantages to be gained thereby, as well as the typical characteristics of these very important types of crusading propaganda, have been traced with varying emphasis by Cramer, Röhricht and Schwerin<sup>29</sup>. Cramer concentrates on the

phenomenon of the crusading sermon from Bernard of Clairvaux onward, distinguishing clearly between the function of such sermons for the earlier First Crusade and for all subsequent campaigns, which were essentially a repetition of the expedition of 1096. He sees the different motivation to be recognisable in the documentation itself<sup>30</sup>.

Röhrich's analysis highlights the details of typical sermons from Urban II to Jacques de Vitry, with special emphasis on the biblical quotations which they contain<sup>31</sup>.

Schwerin's main concern, on the other hand, is with the structural parallels of papal bulls and encyclicals, and with the development of a standard form and framework for such edicts adopted and embellished by subsequent popes<sup>32</sup>.

Of further interest for our study of the historical concepts constituting the crusading idea is the analysis by Noth of the holy war as seen in the history of Christendom and Islam<sup>33</sup>. Noth comes to the conclusion that the principle of "holy war", although not propagated on an official national or international level, was well known to Islam long before a Christian concept of aggressive warfare in the service of the Church had developed in the West; and he maintains that an influence of Islamic ideas on the Christian development of this concept cannot be entirely ruled out<sup>34</sup>. A further aspect of crusading history which is of special importance for the relationship of Christian and non-Christian is present in Cutler's analysis of contemporary crusading chronicles with respect to the rôle played by the desire for conversion during the First Crusade<sup>35</sup>. This missionary aspect to crusading activity is easily forgotten when we are confronted with the large

body of material in contemporary accounts of the Crusades in which the heathen were often represented as being slain like cattle - a characteristic image often reflected by MHG poets in their works. The effect of the developing aggressive Christian attitude towards heathen peoples, and of subsequent crusading ideology on the missionary activity amongst the Slav population of East Prussia, presents a situation worthy of comparison in this context with the Orient<sup>36</sup>. An additional example of the institutionalisation of organisational features of crusading activity, albeit for English crusading knights, is presented in Brundage's analysis of the rite for taking the Cross as a symbol of the Crusader's vow<sup>37</sup>, and the parallels drawn with the blessing of a pilgrim's insignia are also enlightening for the development of the crusading idea and of a stock vocabulary and phraseology in the medieval Latin of Church services.

The above-mentioned critical works of historical scholarship are of interest for the development of those concepts which affect the external organisation of the crusading expedition and its preparation - concepts with which the MHG poets were familiar in so far as they were central to the teaching of the medieval Church during the period of German involvement in the crusading movement. However, a comparison of historical reality with the narrative literature concerned with the historical phenomenon of the Crusades must take into consideration the extent to which the poet has adapted and changed his material - this even more so where especially MHG lyric poets often present their crusading material in terms of their personal

involvement, whereas there is a collectivity of feeling present in the whole body of Minnesang and their purpose is essentially a didactic one. Their literature is thus not so much a direct mirror of contemporary life but an idealising prescription for their audience, a phenomenon by no means restricted to the medieval literary arena. Nevertheless, this difference between reality and the poet's presentation of it is nowhere of more importance to the whole spectrum of MHG literature than in the figure of the knight and his chivalric rôle in medieval Christian society. Similarly, the social position of the secular knight and the existence of social conventions governing his behaviour were bound to influence his involvement in a warlike undertaking against the enemies of Christendom and the Church, and the poetic representation of crusading concepts for a predominantly knightly audience must also have reflected this interrelationship of secular and religious values.

For the present study, however, it is imperative that the real conditions of chivalric society and its very often idealised image in vernacular literature be approached with different criteria and not confused. The analysis of the evidence available for the rôle of the medieval knight in society must essentially lead to socio-historical conclusions and not necessarily to the ideal picture of what he stood for. The problem is one which has long concerned historians and which affects our study in particular with respect to the relationship of the crusading knights to each other and to their secular and spiritual leaders. The evidence for the existence of a so-called ritterliches Tugendsystem was first advanced by Ehrismann and

H. Naumann<sup>38</sup>, who saw a direct link between the ethical system of such classical writers as Cicero and Seneca and the moral code of the medieval knight as represented in MHG literature. This opinion was sharply attacked by Curtius<sup>39</sup>, who reduced Ehrismann's argument to ten theses which he believed he could refute by a process of textual analysis of the work of these classical writers in the light of later scholarship. Subsequent research restricted itself to attempts to support or refute Curtius' negative approach to Ehrismann's thesis, and for a long time the real problem was overlooked. The difference between the reality of chivalric existence, in which the pressures of social and political forces were constantly affecting any ethical system, and the artificial world of the romance or the epic in which such a system could be more rigidly prescribed, the difference between Wirklichkeit and Idee, between Sein and Sollen<sup>40</sup>, the recognition that the two worlds had initially to be kept separate to avoid confusion, found its expression in Bumke's fundamental study of the concept Ritter<sup>41</sup>. Bumke admits that "... die Ritter ... entwickelten einen Ehrenkodex, der bis in unsere Tage die Formen des gesellschaftlichen Umgangs beeinflusst hat"<sup>42</sup>, but his main concern is with the development of the position of the knight in chivalric society, with the gradual appearance of what he calls "der promovierte Ritter"<sup>43</sup>, the knight who was advanced by means of the Schwertleite, with the gradual change of the ceremony to that of Ritterweihe<sup>44</sup>, and with the introduction of Christian ideas to this ceremony - all of which form part of the great movement for reform in the chivalric profession in the 11th

Century, as Erdmann has shown<sup>45</sup>. Precisely this introduction of Christian ideas to a secular ceremony is illustrative of a growing Church interest in the rôle of the warrior in Christian society and of the relationship of his warlike profession to the essentially peaceful mission of Christianity - an interest which culminated in the crusading knight's vow of allegiance to a spiritual overlord in battle against the heathen. The conflict between Empire and Papacy, which dampened German enthusiasm for crusading activity until the mid-12th Century, complicated the development in Germany from the figure of a secular knight, with his personal allegiance to a secular superior synthesised in the principle of dienest, to what was to become a miles Christi, a knight serving God in aggressive military activity against the heathen, entailing a corresponding extension of meaning in the concept of dienest. However, Bumke's classification of knights, based on constant reference to the feudal ties effective in chivalric society, into "die eigentlichen Ritter, die so heißen, weil sie einem Herrn dienen" and "die adligen Herren, die Ritter genannt werden, weil sie feierlich das Schwert geleitet haben"<sup>46</sup>, in the last instance takes very little account of the virtues expected of a knight.

Although it is problematical to propound a rigid system of moral values in the sense of an ethos which existed in real life or which was felt to be realised or realisable in the social and political life of the warrior aristocracy throughout medieval Western Europe, such a system can nevertheless be postulated for chivalric literature of the time and was often necessary in view of the prescriptive

purpose associated with the poet's material. MHG poets drew on the concepts and vocabulary of Christian moral philosophy when propounding such a knightly code, and despite Curtius' arguments the legacy of the classical moralists makes itself felt in this field<sup>47</sup>. Our concern with the crusading concepts reflected in MHG literature includes an analysis of the virtues expected of a crusading knight and the vices imputed to his enemy, and stresses the importance of these virtues and vices in the Christian system of moral philosophy and teaching current in western Europe during the period of the Crusades. In this respect, Hempel's study of the concept of superbia in OHG and MHG literature<sup>48</sup> is of interest for his observations on the development of medieval moral philosophy and Christian ethics. In his analysis of the cardinal sin of superbia in all its ramifications, Hempel also considers the theological speculations surrounding the corresponding virtue of humilitas, a characteristic playing an important rôle in the context of redemptive chivalry seen in the figure of the knight and crusader. Similarly, Church dogma during missionary activity among non-Christians was faced with conflicting pre-Christian heroic virtues of bravery, pride, desire for personal fame and reputation, etc., and Hempel emphasises the rôle played by the Crusades in solving this dilemma by offering religious justification for the warrior's profession<sup>49</sup>.

The analysis of historical material in the following three sections of this study must therefore also take into consideration the developments in the field of political theory, moral philosophy and in the relationships between

secular knights and their secular and spiritual superiors, because it is in these areas that the MHG poets, themselves members of the clergy or the knighthood, adopt contemporary viewpoints or develop their own individual interpretations. Nevertheless, the crusading sources themselves are important for the growth and dissemination of those concepts characteristic of the crusading idea, and the sermon of Urban II in 1095 played a central rôle in these sources. The First Crusade, an aggressive expedition against the heathen in the Holy Land in which the medieval papacy was able to combine the idea of an armed expedition to the Orient with that of the pilgrimage, was a new undertaking. Although the text of Urban's sermon is not extant, so that the exact vocabulary and phraseology for the crusading thought expressed in this military appeal cannot be determined in detail, it is possible to make a reasonable attempt at reconstructing the main points<sup>50</sup>, despite the fact that the accounts of the chroniclers Fulcher of Chartres, Robert the Monk, Baldric of Dol, Guibert of Nogent, and the later account of William of Malmesbury, all differ in detail because of the different colouring each gave to events. The fact that the contents of Urban II's sermon are generally accepted is important in that the pattern was set with this speech and with the letters written shortly afterwards<sup>51</sup> for later exhortations for the First Crusade and subsequent campaigns. There is general agreement as to a number of concepts which Urban is believed to have referred to in his sermon, which, because of their important initiatory character, can be listed here: an appeal for aid to the Christian brethren in the East had



reached the Pope; the Turkish advance was threatening to become totally victorious; the Christians resident in the East and pilgrims on their way to the Holy Land were undergoing great suffering at the hands of the heathen; their property and the Christian churches were being desecrated or destroyed, especially in Jerusalem, which had special sanctity as a city; an attempt to aid the Eastern Christians would be regarded as God's work, and God would aid all those supporting this venture; nothing was to hinder the Crusader from undertaking this righteous war, which was of greater spiritual advantage for the participants than the feuding in Europe could ever be in secular terms; both temporal and spiritual rewards, as well as a plenary indulgence, would be promised the Crusader. Urban may also have extolled his praise of the Frankish nation, have referred to the similar state of affairs between Christians and Moors in Spain, have expressed his contempt and hatred for the Turks, have exhorted rich and poor alike to undertake the Crusade, have condemned the evil conditions of secular society in Western Europe, have referred to the easiness of the task at hand, have mentioned that the Crusaders would be contending the anti-Christ, have suggested the sign of the Cross on their tunics as the symbol of their vow, and have set the date for their departure<sup>52</sup>. It is uncertain whether Urban mentioned all these details, especially the latter three, but such concepts are to be found in later letters and encyclicals encouraging participation in the Crusade by Urban and his successors.

The propaganda for all subsequent Crusades started from the different premise that enthusiasm had to be aroused for

a second campaign, and most subsequent appeals therefore have a different emphasis. With Pope Eugene III, whose crusading bull Quantum praedecessores of 1st December, 1145 addressed to King Louis of France, repeated on 1st March, 1146 to all the faithful of France<sup>53</sup>, set the pattern for all later papal bulls exhorting the Christian knights to engage in a Crusade<sup>54</sup>, and with the preaching of St. Bernard of Clairvaux for the Second Crusade, and especially the efforts of Pope Innocent III for the Fourth and Fifth Crusades, several new concepts or different emphases to traditional concepts found their way into crusading propaganda. St. Bernard emphasised the personal expiatory nature of the Crusade and the special rôle of the crusading indulgence; he laid stress on the two planes of the battle in which the Crusaders were involved - the physical and the spiritual - where the soul's salvation was the ultimate prize in the latter case; he also stressed the tempus acceptabile of such an expedition<sup>55</sup>. In his later treatise concerning the Order of the Templars at Jerusalem<sup>56</sup>, he emphasised the necessity of humility and of voluntary renunciation and abnegation of worldly pleasures. The numerous letters and bulls of Innocent III<sup>57</sup> above all propounded a feudal relationship between the Christian warrior and his God, whereby God demanded service of his vassal to protect the Holy Land<sup>58</sup>.

It was not only in the official crusading propaganda of the medieval Church, in the crusading bulls and letters of various popes and in the sermons and letters of important preachers of the Crusade, that there developed a stock phraseology and vocabulary for these concepts constituting

the crusading idea, but on a different level there arose among the chroniclers of the various campaigns a language which was more closely related to crusading reality, in so far as the chroniclers were themselves participants in the events they were reporting. It is in these chronicles that we find the emphasis laid on details of a personal interest for the individual Crusader: the heathen battle tactics, the material booty to be won after a victorious battle, the personal religious experience of setting foot in the Holy Land, etc.<sup>59</sup>; and it is here that a more personal reaction to the crusading experience can be recognised, despite the bias in reporting to be noted in individual chroniclers.

The crusading idea, which first crystallised in the expedition of 1096-99, and, in spite of the relative failure of subsequent campaigns, gradually developed into a convention, was subject to many influences throughout the 12th and 13th Centuries, but the concepts and principles which go to make up this Kreuzzugsidee may be said to have three basic origins on the historical plane: already existing social conventions and principles, such as the feudal system, the holy war and the pilgrimage, which essentially belonged to a period before the First Crusade but from which crusading propaganda adopted some of the concepts and vocabulary and integrated them into its own ideology; concepts and principles such as that of redemptive chivalry which originated in the preaching of the First Crusade and which became the foundation for later crusading ideology; and concepts and principles such as that of the tempus acceptabile which were adopted and embellished in the preaching of subsequent campaigns as the result of the ingenuity of a

particular pope or preacher. In the analysis of the historical sources at the outset of the ensuing chapters, the documentation for the social conventions and principles older than the First Crusade predominates in Part I, whereas those concepts originating with the First Crusade and finding their elaboration and extension in the works of later popes and preachers are the basis of the historical analysis in Part II of our investigation. The historical sources for Part III are relatively sparse (although they become more numerous during the 13th Century), and the main emphasis here is on the way in which the reflection of the crusading idea in MHG literature has developed characteristics which are entirely medieval and orthodox in the light of contemporary Church sources, but represent a considerable advance in the light of those traditional Church attitudes equally prevalent at the beginning of the 13th Century and earlier.

3. The world of the historical Crusades, both as concerns the preparation for an expedition and the military organisation of the individual campaigns themselves, is a very different one from that of the MHG crusading epic or romance, in which the narrative structure and the constraints of the poet's sources influence the organisation of his material. An analysis of the crusading material in MHG literature must of necessity take the world of historical reality into consideration, but the two worlds are not to be confused. In those vernacular works where the borderline between historical fact and narrative fiction is at times blurred (as, for example, in the Kaiserchronik,

where on the one hand the poet includes crusading thought in his account of Heraclius' legendary expedition to the Holy Land (Kchr. 11138 ff.)<sup>60</sup>, and on the other hand bases his account of the First Crusade in describing the fall of Antioch (Kchr. 16628 ff.) and the finding of the Holy Lance (Kchr. 16668 ff.) on the historical facts as also related in the crusading chronicles<sup>61</sup>, the reflection of crusading concepts is reasonably straightforward, despite the epic quality of the poet's material and the influence of Gregorian thinking on his view of the relationship between Emperor and Pope<sup>62</sup>. However, a comparison with OF and medieval Latin literature of the time shows that MHG literature is strangely lacking in such works concerned with historical events - indeed, the majority of MHG crusading literature can be said to lack nearly all contact with political and military reality<sup>63</sup>. In contrast, MHG crusading lyric poetry represents the crusading idea as an attempt to persuade its knightly public to take the Cross, or in criticism of the behaviour of crusading knights, or presents the decision to undertake the Crusade in terms of a personal conflict, characteristics remarkably lacking in the Romance languages of this period. The subject matter of Konrad's Rolandslied and Wolfram's Willehalm is, significantly, also divorced from the crusading reality of the period, in so far as it belongs to a period long before the First Crusade<sup>64</sup>. These two works additionally have OF sources which were available to the MHG poets in a somewhat different version from that which is available to modern critics<sup>65</sup>. Although the Chanson de Roland<sup>66</sup> contains less material of an explicitly crusading nature than Konrad's poem, it is in

cases such as the Rolandslied and Willehalm that the interrelation of the world of historical events and the world of the MHG poet becomes problematical, because, historically speaking, ideas and concepts belonging to the world of the Crusades are imposed by the poet (whether by the original poet or by the German adaptor need not immediately concern us here) on a world which is not that of the crusading period. Thus, the historical world of the Rolandslied is strictly speaking that of c.778 and of Charlemagne's campaign in Spain<sup>67</sup>; the world of Willehalm is the world of c.793 set anachronistically in the reign of Louis the Pious<sup>68</sup>; that is to say, both worlds belong to a period more appropriate to the conventions of the imperial holy war than to that of the Crusades. Both these poems, as well as the majority of the minstrel epics or Spielmannsepen which were mostly written between the Second and the Third Crusades<sup>69</sup>, thus present a number of problems in levels of interpretation.

A further problem, which is of equal importance in an analysis of the interrelation of the world of history and that of the romance, epic or lyric, is the restrictive or extensive understanding of the Crusade, for in terms of historical content both the Rolandslied and Willehalm are also not crusading in the restrictive sense, since they do not concern battles on papal initiative against the heathen in the Holy Land with the aim of recapturing the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem<sup>70</sup>. Nevertheless, the bulk of MHG research has constantly recognised in these two works the most outstanding examples of Kreuzzugsdichtung in German vernacular poetry, and an interpretation or analysis of

their vocabulary and phraseology would be unthinkable without reference to the crusading idea. For the purposes of the following study, however, it will also be necessary to examine how far the understanding by Konrad and Wolfram of the crusading idea in its various concepts can be understood to be extensive or restrictive, notwithstanding the non-crusading situations on which the two works are based<sup>71</sup>.

The so-called Spielmannsdichtung of this period<sup>72</sup>, unlike the pre-courtly fragment Graf Rudolf<sup>73</sup>, presents not so much a difference in time from the historical phenomenon of the Crusades but rather includes the crusading idea or the military reality of the campaigns as impinging only indirectly or as background. The content of such minstrel epics is in each case also often problematical, in that the original theme changes as the narrative progresses<sup>74</sup>. Considerable parallels can be drawn with regard to the motifs of each work, however, which indicates in certain cases a common background<sup>75</sup>. Thus the motif of Brautwerbung is common at the outset to König Rother, St. Oswald (both Munich and Vienna versions), Orendel, and, very indirectly, to Salman und Morolf<sup>76</sup>, and the Crusades and the crusading idea are only incidental, even in Orendel, where the presence of Templars at Jerusalem and Orendel's battles against the heathen aggressors of the Holy Sepulchre present a picture otherwise very close to historical reality. König Rother and Herzog Ernst are essentially concerned with the position of the German Emperor and the history of the Empire, St. Oswald and Orendel are essentially legends, where the world of the Orient represents a world far distant from medieval Europe - an element

also contained in Herzog Ernst - and Salman und Morolf develops the motif of Brautwerbung into a fantastic series of adventures and complicated relationships which have an Oriental origin<sup>77</sup>.

In the MHG crusading lyric, it is the propaganda element that predominates, although the poet may often clothe a general appeal to his knightly audience by representing the decision to take the Cross in terms of a personal conflict, so that the rôle of the crusading knight becomes personalised in the Ich of the poet. This personalised method of representing the crusading idea allows the poet to take on a critical and didactic attitude towards his knightly audience, so that the poet may condemn those cowards taking the crusading oath and then becoming unfaithful to it, or praise the purity of the crusading knight after he has taken the Cross, etc.<sup>78</sup>. Indeed, the representation of the crusading idea in the crusading lyric is associated with the theme of Minne which dominates so much of MHG poetry and which is treated in a similarly personalised manner. The poet as crusading knight is faced with a problem of priorities - manifestation of his love for God or love for his lady<sup>79</sup>, a problem central to Minnesang in general but which gains a new accentuation in a crusading context where the virtues of Entsagung and rejection of worldly values become a central crusading concept. This representation of the personalised propaganda lyric, together with the personal involvement of various MHG poets in the Crusades themselves<sup>80</sup>, manifests a much closer connection with the world of crusading reality than do either the epic or the Spielmannsdichtung, and as such the MHG crusading lyric



will afford a bulk of material for our analysis of what the crusading idea meant for the MHG poet.

Modern research into MHG literature has produced a number of works analysing the meaning of the crusading idea for the poet and the effect of this on his material, although interpretations in the light of historical research, which literary historians and critics had earlier largely ignored or misunderstood, are in a minority. Nevertheless, the work of Wentzlaff-Eggebert<sup>81</sup> has done much to isolate a body of crusading literature within the complex field of MHG epic, narrative, lyric and clerical literature which is interrelated in terms of thought and motivation, and where individual poets reflect ideas current in the Church's propaganda for expeditions to the Holy Land. His main work analyses how the crusading idea developed from such early principles as the bellum iustum and the Church's justification of the holy war, sketches its progress to the decline in the 13th and 14th Centuries into a subsidiary aspect of political altercations between Empire and Papacy, and illustrates the ultimate debasement of the crusading oath by the principle of buying exemption. Similarly, he traces the development of Western crusading literature from its beginnings in early MHG, medieval Latin, Provençal and OF up to late examples of epic and lyric poetry in the 13th and 14th Centuries, where latterly aspects of crusading reality are thematically apparent only in expressions of the poet's disillusion with the crusading idea or in its use as background for other motifs. Wentzlaff-Eggebert's method is one of comparison, a comparison differentiated chronologically according to papal appeals and bulls<sup>82</sup>,

and his aim is to elucidate the close relationship between historical situation and poetic expression so that idea and reality of the crusading enthusiasm may be seen reflected in the medieval vernacular literature of the time<sup>83</sup>. In this respect he extends the method used much earlier by G. Wolfram for lyric poetry and a basic similarity is to be noted in their use of sources<sup>84</sup>. In addition, Wentzlaff-Eggebert aims to trace the historical development of the crusading idea with the many influences exerted upon it over more than two centuries, and as a subsidiary aim to illustrate the interaction and differences between the contemporary medieval Latin, OF and MHG literatures<sup>85</sup>. His historical analysis emphasises the importance of the First Crusade for the development of the concept of militia Christi<sup>86</sup>, the rôle played by St. Bernard of Clairvaux in the spiritualisation of the crusading idea<sup>87</sup>, the development of the Crusade into a battle between two potentially equal powers with the rise of Saladin (only potentially equal, because dissension among Western rulers weakened Christian unity, whereas Saladin was able at least for a time to unite the forces of Islam<sup>88</sup>), and the importance of Pope Innocent III for crusading propaganda<sup>89</sup>. However, only in very few cases does Wentzlaff-Eggebert point out the overall parallels either in thought or means of expression between sources of crusading propaganda and crusading literature; rather, he restricts himself to a juxtaposition of historical detail and literary criticism - a method partly stemming from his threefold chronological differentiation of historical events. Similarly, on the one hand he refers to the reflection of the idea and

reality of the Crusades in MHG literature, to the poetic reality as a medium in which the crusading idea was expanded and propagated, and to the equal validity of historical situation and poetic reality<sup>90</sup>; on the other hand he aims to trace the development of this crusading idea under religious, political, economic and linguistic influences<sup>91</sup>. Later, he admits that the poetic expression of the crusading idea is very often an idealising one, that the spiritualised concept of redemptive chivalry gains its highest form of expression in MHG at a time when historically the crusading idea was already being absorbed into the sphere of power politics between Pope, Emperor and nobility<sup>92</sup>. This lack of distinction in his analysis of crusading literature between an idealised crusading idea on the one hand and the reflection of a changing crusading idea on the other hand is present throughout Wentzlaff-Eggebert's work, and affects his evaluation of crusading concepts as presented in MHG literature. The crusading movement was part of a much wider, far-reaching movement in medieval political and religious ideas. In the first instance, a gradual spiritualisation of medieval conduct and attitudes was characterised in the field of literature by the preponderance of clerics or religiously devoted men as poets. Secondly, a growing disillusionment with the crusading idea and the disastrous outcome of the later Crusades engendered an increasing secularisation of moral and social conduct, characterised again in the literary arena by the preponderance of secular poets. However, despite this secularisation in motivation for the Crusade and in attitude towards its redemptive nature, and undoubtedly under the

growing respect that Christian and Islamic knights had come to entertain for each other's battle prowess and social system<sup>93</sup>, it is typical of later MHG poets such as Wolfram that the crusading idea and its effect on chivalric society should still be presented in its pure form (with the appropriate development in crusading concepts since the propaganda of Urban II). Indeed, in such later MHG poems attempts are made to propound the picture of an ideal Christian knight and his rôle in Western Christian society outside the sphere of crusading involvement (Parzival) and a more liberal and objective attitude arises towards heathen knights as a result of the growing internationalism felt to be characteristic of the spirit of knighthood (Willehalm).

All criticism of Wentzlaff-Eggebert's work need not, however, detract from its importance for our study, although a closer comparison of crusading sources and literary expression in the field of individual crusading concepts, as well as a more careful distinction of historical and poetic reality will result in a more accurate assessment of the MHG poet's understanding of these concepts and in a more profound understanding of the reflection of the changing crusading idea in vernacular literature. Wentzlaff-Eggebert's chronological and comparative approach makes it imperative and justifiable for him to adopt an extensive understanding of the Crusade, and correspondingly, an extensive view of crusading literature<sup>94</sup>, and despite considerable overemphasis at times, his study has pointed clearly to the atmosphere of crusading propaganda and fervour by which various MHG poets were

influenced in the presentation of their material and the adaptation of their sources.

Since Wentzlaff-Eggebert's study the bulk of modern research has restricted itself to more select areas of interest in crusading literature, and little or no attempts have been made to approach an overall analysis of crusading concepts as represented in MHG crusading poems. Kaplowitt aims to elaborate and expand the findings of Stein's neglected study of the MHG poet's attitude to the heathen, and also to attempt to examine reflections of historical events in MHG epics<sup>95</sup>. He finds Stein's restriction of material to 200 years too inhibiting and aims to supply more detail by analyses of works outside this period and by a comparison with crusading chronicles. Unfortunately, this comparison remains a very superficial one - his reliance on translations of crusading sources leads him to distortion of detail, and historical justification for many of his conclusions is lacking<sup>96</sup>. Kaplowitt expressly excludes any analysis of crusading lyric poetry, which he correctly sees as forming one of the most successful sections of Wentzlaff-Eggebert's work<sup>97</sup>, but in so doing he naturally cuts himself off from one area of vernacular literature where the influence of the Crusades is at its most direct for the MHG poet.

The crusading lyric as a rich source of information for the MHG poet's reactions to the crusading idea has been clearly recognised as such by modern research, and although it should hardly need emphasising that these poems cannot be approached without reference to the individual poet's treatment of the theme of Minne and courtly behaviour in

Minnesang in general (or indeed reference to other epics and romances, as in the case of Hartmann von Aue), this has not always been the case, either with Wentzlaff-Eggebert or earlier critics. This, however, is the central theme of Ingebrand's interpretation of the crusading poems of five major lyric poets<sup>98</sup>. By a comparison of motifs to be found in other poems as well as in those with crusading content, Ingebrand successfully demonstrates the links in the five poets' method of representation. He carefully analyses their depiction of the conflict for the knight between irdische Minne and Gottesminne, a conflict affecting the basis of the knight's existence in courtly society, and comes to the conclusion that in most cases this calls for a personal reaction on the part of the poet<sup>99</sup>. This latter interpretation fails to appreciate how the individual poets personalise a typical conflict facing the crusading knight, in order that the propaganda effect of such poems on the poet's audience may gain in directness and intensity. Nevertheless, Ingebrand illustrates that the personal relationship to God of the MHG poet as crusading knight, the service required of him on taking the crusading oath, the reward which he knows to be his due for this service, the relationship which exists between himself and his vrouwe after taking the crusading vow, all have parallels in crusading propaganda and chronicles, and at times an almost identical phrasing might even suggest a direct influence<sup>100</sup>. In contrast, Böhmer's study of crusading poetry<sup>101</sup> rejects such historical parallels and adopts a completely different premise: in an attempt to avoid what she calls "ein Rückfall in positivistische Methoden"<sup>102</sup>, she avoids as far as

possible all reference to the relationship with historical reality for the four crusading poems on which the main emphasis of her interpretation lies, and proceeds rather to analyse their expressive content. Her initial analysis of the historical and sociological conditions for the rise of the crusading lyric, in contrast with those for the crusading epic, presents those poems dating from pre-1200 as mere propaganda poems, which is to neglect the ostensibly very personal reaction to the Crusade of poets like Friedrich von Hausen<sup>103</sup>. Böhmer's method of intrinsic criticism, to which she admittedly does not restrict herself, is of interest for her analyses of what she sees as the poet's individual reaction to the historical phenomenon of the Crusade, but her approach cannot entirely exclude reference to the historical situation, and does not otherwise lead to any really original conclusions.

The majority of modern research into MHG literature associated with the Crusades, has, perhaps inevitably in view of the breadth of material to be approached if an extensive view of the phenomenon Crusade and crusading literature is accepted<sup>104</sup>, restricted itself to studies of one or more works or one or more particular concepts to be found in MHG crusading literature. Precisely this extensive view of crusading literature imposes the necessity of selection and invites therefore the criticism of subjectivity<sup>105</sup>, or, in an attempt to be comprehensive in analytical detail, contains the danger of giving way to generalisations<sup>106</sup>. Nevertheless, it is only by a full examination of the way in which the historical crusading idea developed from earlier associated religious undertakings to have a lasting

impression on the behaviour of Western knighthood, and by tracing how MHG poets represent crusading thought in its traditional clerical form as well as by giving their own interpretation of it, using subject-matter allied to the crusading situation or apparently unrelated to it, that it is possible to arrive at a definition of what constitutes the body of crusading concepts in MHG literature and what semantic components are common for expressing them. A judicious use of historical sources both of crusading origin and of religious and clerical thought, as well as a systematic approach to the linguistic framework used by MHG poets to represent crusading ideas, in which, however, much additional evidence must remain in the form of line references in footnotes, ensures in the ensuing chapters that the present study includes the many crusading concepts represented in vernacular literature without reducing an analysis of them to a superficial compilation of frequently recurring lexicographical items or sacrificing comprehensiveness.

Modern research into historical or literary crusading sources has been generally more selective in its choice of material and method of analysis, and has concentrated either more on the historical content or on a critical interpretation of MHG poems. Nevertheless, a number of such works are especially relevant for our present study. The historian Heer was one of the first modern critics to include studies of MHG literature in his analysis of the concept of the Empire<sup>107</sup>. He divides MHG literature into two comparatively distinct epochs: on the one hand the era of Frederick Barbarossa, characterised on the level of



political background by what he sees as a restoration of the imperial principles of the Carolingian, Ottonian and Salian periods; on the other hand the era of the later Hohenstaufen Emperors, characterised again politically by the opposition of the Welf dynasty and power struggles with the Papacy<sup>108</sup>. The literature of the first epoch he sees as predominantly written by clerics, but for its medieval audience as a literature still very much concerned with reality, although this reality may be set in the historical world of episodes from the Empire's history<sup>109</sup>. On the other hand, the literature of the later period he regards as no longer concerned with reality, but more intent on "... (das) Gewollt-Irreale, Fiktive, Literarische, l'art pour l'art-mäßige"<sup>110</sup>. His distinction into two literary epochs and especially his interpretation of the era of Frederick Barbarossa have been variously received by later critics; nevertheless, his work has pointed to a more intricate picture of the medieval understanding of the Holy Roman Empire than was hitherto imagined, and has especially indicated the presence of ideas reflecting the political workings of the Empire in MHG vernacular literature. His work is thus important for the Emperor's rôle as leader of Christendom in conflict with non-Christians and for the influence of imperial ideology on crusading propaganda. In like manner, Nellmann's study of the imperial idea in the Kaiserchronik and the Rolandslied<sup>111</sup> is of equal interest, because the historical imperial setting of these two poems invites a distinction between "imperial" and "crusading" content and language, at least in so far as a distinction between concepts connected with the original imperial holy war and such concepts when

adopted into crusading propaganda is at all possible.

The Rolandslied is generally regarded as one pillar of the tradition of crusading literature in MHG, the other pillar being Wolfram's Willehalm, and indeed the Rolandslied has attracted particular attention by critics<sup>112</sup>. Of interest for our present study is the work by Backes<sup>113</sup>, who points to the biblical elements and examples of the medieval preaching style contained in Konrad's thought and language. Many of the biblical quotations discussed and very valuably listed by Backes are also contained in crusading sermons, papal bulls and to a lesser degree in crusading chronicles, which of course does not necessarily provide evidence for a direct influence of crusading propaganda on Konrad - as a cleric he would have been familiar with the changing exegetical and homiletic tradition anyway - any more than the parallels in imperial thought between the Rolandslied and the reign of Frederick Barbarossa present real evidence for a c.1150 dating of the poem<sup>114</sup>. Nevertheless, the use of biblical quotations either directly or in the form of paraphrases in the Rolandslied and in crusading propaganda is an indication of one area of common phraseology which was well known to poet and preacher alike in the mid-12th Century. Similarly, Backes provides an important source of reference for linguistic formulations which were part of the exegetical and homiletic tradition common in medieval Germany and which reflect the Church's interest in the rôle of the medieval knight. In contrast, Nöther's analysis of the basic spiritual idea in the Kaiserchronik and the Rolandslied unfortunately does not fulfil what he promises<sup>115</sup>. He intends to

analyse the texts themselves more closely, in the Rolandslied to discover Konrad's understanding of his religious message, and he accuses modern attempts at comparative research of assembling an arbitrary selection of quotations without considering the textual context or literary tradition<sup>116</sup>. His own approach is, however, by no means more precise, in so far as his comparisons with early MHG texts are just as arbitrarily chosen. Similarly, his analysis of the service of God, of the battle in God's name and of the characteristics of God's enemies is at times paradoxical, at times generalising, so that few of his conclusions are original<sup>117</sup>. An analysis of the spiritual idea of the Rolandslied, of the relationship of this poem to its intellectual, religious and political background, and, equally important, of its relationship to the Chanson de Roland and to the Kaiserchronik, is more completely presented in Richter's commentary to the first part of Konrad's work<sup>118</sup>. Richter draws heavily on parallels in expression and idea between the Rolandslied and crusading propaganda and chronicles, as well as on works of medieval theology and clerical scholarship, and many of the findings in the following chapters owe a special debt to his work. Nevertheless, Richter's first volume presents a line-by-line commentary of only part of one of the important MHG crusading poems, and although the author includes numerous cross-references these are by no means complete. Similarly, although Richter isolates a number of crusading concepts present in Konrad's poem and indicates their affinity to biblical, clerical, crusading and theological sources, he is restricted by his chronological approach from making a systematic approach to

related concepts within the poem itself and in the body of MHG crusading poetry as a whole. Richter's work represents, however, an example of the way in which an application of the results of modern historical research can be of immense value for the study of MHG poems, and his work will afford much of the necessary background material for all future interpretations of Konrad's poem.

Wolfram's Willehalm represents the second pillar of the tradition of crusading literature in MHG, and despite the very critical reception given Bumke's study of various aspects of Wolfram's later work, Bumke's findings are still very relevant for an analysis of this later work<sup>119</sup>. Bumke analyses the national (French) concept of the Empire which Wolfram inherited from his source and extended to the idea of the Holy Roman Empire, with the Emperor Louis as direct descendant of Charlemagne, as the head of Christendom and the protector of Christianity<sup>120</sup>. The parallel interpretation of the heathen empire is essential for an understanding of the second battle at Alischanz as a continuation of Karl's battle against Baligan in the Rolandslied, and as a confrontation of two empires in conflict for world supremacy<sup>121</sup>, a concept also recognisable in crusading sources. Bumke's analysis of Gyburg's position at the centre of Christian and heathen religious conflict, as well as of the Gotteskindschaftsgedanke<sup>122</sup>, illustrates Wolfram's attempt at a poetic solution to the historical problem inherent in the incompatibility of heathen beliefs and chivalric excellence, a solution impossible in the contemporary crusading situation of the early 13th Century. Bumke's work is thus important for any investigation of the imperial ideology

reflected in crusading propaganda and above all for an evaluation of Wolfram's exemplary depiction of the non-Christian knights in his poem. In this respect, an interpretation of Willehalm as an expression of Christian cari-tas is similarly supported by Willson<sup>123</sup>, who sees the unifying factor for the poem in the Christian mystical power of the potential reconciliation of two religious opposites, although he makes no attempt to draw any conclusions from the contemporary crusading situation. In addition, Kartschoke's translation and annotation of Willehalm<sup>124</sup> presents some useful textual parallels with the Rolandslied and Parzival but also with clerical sources, although his translation is at times unfortunately misleading<sup>125</sup>. Wolfram's Willehalm is especially important in the context of our study, in so far as the poet expresses an attitude towards the heathen which is more explicitly objective and sympathetic than in the remainder of the poems studied, and at the centre of this attitude are the figures of Gyburg and Rennewart. Lofmark's study of the figure of Rennewart<sup>126</sup> is here of relevance for his analysis of the originality of Wolfram's thought. Lofmark carefully examines the evidence for and against an abrupt ending to Wolfram's poem, and although the poet's depiction of Rennewart and of his relationship to Christianity may be seen to rest on orthodox Church principles, Lofmark advances a somewhat narrow view of the extent to which Wolfram here represents an innovation in his depiction of an exemplary heathen figure.

The description in MHG literature of contemporary crusading reality either as local colour or as backcloth for

a narrative not essentially concerned with the Crusades is a source of linguistic material for crusading concepts not to be ignored, for here the poet reveals more directly the extent of his experience and knowledge of the crusading situation. Szklenar's comparison of the Orient in German epic and narrative poetry until c.1180 with the medieval Latin crusading accounts by French and German chroniclers<sup>127</sup> (unfortunately excluding St. Oswald, Orendel and Salman und Morolf) represents a further interesting if differently orientated analysis of crusading material in MHG literature. Although this comparison of reality and poetic expression often leads to a negative reaction towards the poet's poetic ability, a fault from which Szklenar is not completely free, his analysis of the historical picture presented of the Orient in the late 12th Century, and especially the background he traces for König Rother and Herzog Ernst<sup>128</sup>, are valuable for an examination of the poet's attitude to the scene of military activity associated with the Crusades. Additional linguistic material from the field of military terminology is afforded by Kühnemann<sup>129</sup>, who examines systematically the traditional and metaphorical phrases for military activity in MHG literature, using them as a basis for an interpretation of Wolfram's attitude towards his narrative in Willehalm. Kühnemann compares the two battles at Alischanz and comes to the interesting conclusion on a firm linguistic basis that, despite the more realistic presentation of the second battle, Wolfram distances himself personally from his presentation and is even critical of both the heathen defeat and the Christian victory<sup>130</sup>.

Modern research into the linguistic background of MHG crusading literature has for the most part restricted itself to analyses of one or more concept or aspect of medieval religious, political or social life. There have been studies based on a direct method of purely textual interpretation, there have been studies based on a detailed analysis of the historical evidence of a word's documentation, there have been attempts to see in parallel medieval Latin and MHG documentation of a phrase or concept a direct borrowing or influence of the former on the latter, and there have been attempts which confuse the poetic reality of the text with historical reality. Apart from Wentzlaff-Eggebert, however, a comprehensive analysis of crusading concepts in important crusading MHG poems is lacking. Historical research has been reluctant to accept conclusions as to the nature of medieval society based on vernacular literature, because of the predominantly exemplary depiction of character and milieu in keeping with the didactic aim of many MHG poets. However, the clerical and theological sources for much historical interpretation are equally didactic in purpose and their origins are open to the same criticism of subjectivity as is MHG literature. The process of survival to the present day of both groups of writings has been equally arbitrary. MHG crusading literature, in particular the lyric poetry, superficially appears to constitute a personal reaction by a medieval poet to a conflict involving both the religious and the secular spheres, a conflict of which his medieval audience was equally aware and in the intricacies and far-reaching consequences of which it could share. This reaction, however, is subject to

a collectivity of feeling and often represents the poet's personalisation of a representative attitude among his contemporaries. Admittedly, modern readers of MHG literature do not possess the same extra awareness for the contemporary reality generally present in the medieval audience, and attempts to supply it by recourse to historical detail will necessarily remain experimental and often incomplete, but here too, the situation with respect to explicitly historical sources is scarcely different.

As I have pointed out<sup>131</sup>, the two main epic works of MHG crusading literature are in the matter of content divorced historically from the time of the audience for whom they were prepared, although the memory of the Carolingian Empire and of the deeds of Charlemagne and his successors was kept alive by various events between the 11th and 13th Centuries<sup>132</sup>. Similarly, their crusading content is inextricably tied to the idea of the Empire and its expansion or defence, which, in the case of the Rolandslied, has been varyingly seen as a reflection of the contemporary situation, where Frederick Barbarossa made a conscious attempt to reestablish the Empire on Carolingian lines<sup>133</sup>. The situation of the two poems is a complicated one, where Carolingian history and the organisation of the Empire are overlaid with crusading import; the Rolandslied contains at the same time as expressions of imperial ideology reminiscences of the preaching of St. Bernard of Clairvaux<sup>134</sup>; Willehalm, on the other hand, reflects much traditional crusading thought, but also represents a poetic attempt at a solution to the conflict between Christian and heathen on a knightly level; in both cases, the application of too



much historical interpretation can lead to confusion. A difference in atmosphere between the two poems is clearly discernible; Konrad and Wolfram present their own different pictures of the Christian knight within the institution of the Empire. Their exemplary Christian heroes are different interpretations of the ideal figure of the knight, reflecting many of the secular virtues of Western chivalric society and at the same time infused with the Christian virtue of caritas and certain of their own personal salvation in God's service.

The relationship of poetic and historical reality in the Kaiserchronik is a different one: the poet himself sees his work as a history of the Empire<sup>135</sup>, and despite the mass of legendary material contained<sup>136</sup>, and although there are clear similarities to medieval Latin sources both in content and form<sup>137</sup>, the work is essentially one of epic dimensions. In this way, the Kaiserchronik presents a fictionalised view of history, as do the crusading chronicles which have similarly epic dimensions. All attempts to see the reflection of historical reality in these works must therefore also take the characteristics of epic poetry as well as the conventions of chronicling tradition into consideration<sup>138</sup>. The poems of the Spielmannsdichtung contain a similarly complicated relationship of poetic originality, legend, narrative tradition and reflection of historical reality, for which an analysis from the purely historical standpoint is insufficient. The following study of MHG literature includes reference to the poets' own adaptation of their material, to the sources of this material and to the conventions of narrative, lyric and epic poetry when necessary

for interpretation.

Modern research into MHG literature has adopted a generally integrative approach, and analyses completely divorced from reference to historical detail are clearly seen to have their limitations<sup>139</sup>. This integrative approach is of essential importance in the case of much MHG crusading literature, where the vernacular sources are as varied as classical legend, OF chansons de geste and Oriental tales. These MHG poems are not merely translations of the original, but adaptations, and these adaptations depend partly on the individual poet's literary talent, partly on the influence of contemporary political and religious thought. For this reason, the analysis of MHG literature can also present the historian with unique examples of aspects of medieval society as seen by cleric and knight.

4. This introduction to the investigation of crusading concepts has analysed in some detail representative works of research in the historical and literary field, and has sketched the background to crusading literature by indicating the relationship between the reality of crusading propaganda, military activity, etc., and the poetic expression of this in connection with the poets' didactic intentions. This is essential for an understanding of the following chapters. It thus represents a survey of some aspects of modern research in the field of crusading literature and MHG literature in general, where many of the respective findings will be subject to a more critical analysis in the light of the following comparative approach to crusading concepts.

This crusading idea is a complex one both in its creation and in its development, and the vernacular literature associated with the movement reflects this complexity to a greater or lesser degree. A historical development is, however, a genetic process, so that in a religious and political movement of the intensity of that of the Crusades, many ideas remain essentially the same but are added to or adapted as the historical situation demands. In such a movement, the association of a body of phrases, epithets and words develops for the expression of such ideas, both in the language of the Church as the central force in its propagation and in the vernacular language of its participants. The analysis of these semantic components in the vernacular literature of the crusading period, either in their traditional Church sense or including a poetic interpretation, constitutes a documentation for the dissemination of the crusading idea among a particular social group. At the same time, the following analysis contributes to an understanding of one aspect of MHG vocabulary and phraseology as reflected in a group of thematically related poems.

The following chapters are ordered according to the development and expansion of the crusading idea on the historical plane, and the reflection of individual crusading concepts in the vernacular German literature is related to this historical development and expansion. In this way, the restrictions and limitations of what constitutes crusading vocabulary and phraseology, as well as of the poets' understanding of the individual concepts, are clearly revealed. A comparison of the vocabulary and phraseology used in medieval Latin sources with their vernacular equivalent

cannot isolate direct borrowings, although this appears very tempting at times. Rather the comparison is intended as an illustration of the common thought content associated with a particular crusading concept which the medieval poets' public understood, and which exemplifies the general understanding of such concepts. In this way, the conclusions are of interest for both historian and literary critic, in so far as they present a clearer understanding of what constitutes the vernacular literature associated with the crusading idea in Germany.

## Footnotes to the Introduction

- 1 For a list of those critical works which dispense with a definition of the crusading idea, see P. Hölzle, "Kreuzzug und Kreuzzugsdichtung, Das Problem ihrer Definition", in FS Kurt Herbert Halbach, Göttingen, 1972 (Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 70), pp.55 f., Anm. 2.
- 2 Of the major MHG poets discussed in the following chapters, it is generally agreed that only the following actually took part in a Crusade: Friedrich von Hausen (who is known to have died on the Third Crusade with Frederick Barbarossa in 1190; cf. H. de Boor, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, Vol. II, 6th ed., Munich, 1954, p. 256; F.-W. Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung des Mittelalters, Studien zu ihrer geschichtlichen und dichterischen Wirklichkeit, Berlin, 1960, p. 179; etc.), Hartmann von Aue (the problem of which campaign Hartmann took part in is dependent on the interpretation of the controversial MF 218,19 (Des Minnege-sangs Frühling, ed. C. v. Kraus, 34th ed., Stuttgart, 1967) - for a detailed analysis and a summary of the various arguments for an earlier or later dating, see H. Ingebrand, Interpretationen zur Kreuzzugslyrik Friedrichs von Hausen, Albrechts von Johannsdorf, Heinrichs von Rugge, Hartmanns von Aue und Walthers von der Vogelweide (Diss.), Frankfurt/Main, 1966, pp. 160-74), Freidank and Tannhäuser (cf. Wentz-laff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 311-15; de Boor, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, II, pp. 370 ff. and 411 ff.). H. Schneider, in his article "Kreuzzugsliteratur" in Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte, eds. P. Mer-ker and W. Stammer, Vol. II, Berlin, 1926-8, pp. 134 ff., adds (pp. 139 f.) as certain participants in a crusading campaign Hiltbolt von Schwangau, Neithart von Reuenthal and Otto von Botenlauben; as probable participants Albrecht von Johannsdorf (cf. also M. Böhmer, Untersuchungen zur mittel-hochdeutschen Kreuzzugslyrik, Rome, 1968 (Studi di filologia tedesca, 1), pp. 40 f.) and Heinrich von Rugge (cf. also de Boor, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, II, p. 262); and as possible participants the later poets Rubin, Bruder Wernher and Reimar der Videler.
- 3 The introductory remarks by E. Köhler in his study of poetic and historical reality in the OF literature of the period (Ideal und Wirklichkeit in der höfischen Epik, Studien zur Form der frühen Artus- und Graldichtung, 2nd ed., Tübingen, 1970 (Beihefte zur ZfrPh, 97), p. 3) are of equal value for MHG literature.
- 4 See below, Part I, pp. 61 ff.
- 5 See below, Part III, pp. 409 ff.
- 6 The question of the existence of a corpus of crusading lit-erature in German is as vexed as the question of its defini-tion - modern research has more or less ignored the fact that OF has a strong epic tradition of crusading literature concerned with the reality of the Crusades, and that whereas the Latin historiography of the Crusades, among which there are various chroniclers who can be referred to as German,

e. g. Albert of Aachen, Ekkehard of Aura, Otto of Freising, etc., presents an often contemporary material in a thoroughly epic fashion, there is no parallel epic tradition in MHG concerned with crusading reality. This present study, though fundamentally concerned with crusading concepts and vocabulary, is also an attempt to present a definition of what goes to make up Kreuzzugsdichtung and whether it can be said to exist as a genre, as the title of the collection of crusading texts edited by U. Müller (Kreuzzugsdichtung, Tübingen, 1969 (Deutsche Texte, 9)) might suggest; cf. also by the same author, "Tendenzen und Formen, Versuch über mittelhochdeutsche Kreuzzugsdichtung", in Getempert und gemischt, FS Wolfgang Mohr, Göppingen, 1972 (Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 65), pp. 251-80; Hölzle, FS Kurt Herbert Halbach, pp. 55-72.

- 7 De Boor, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, II, p. 1.
- 8 That certain poets of vernacular texts were directly influenced by the Latin commentaries is inevitable, and a close analysis of passages in the Kaiserchronik (Kaiserchronik eines Regensburger Geistlichen, ed. E. Schröder, MGH, Deutsche Chroniken, I, 1, Hanover, 1892, reprinted Dublin and Zürich, 1969) - hereafter referred to as Kchr. - and the chronicle of Ekkehard of Aura (Ekkehardi Chronicon Universale, MGH SS VI, Hanover, 1844) clearly reveals this influence: cf. Kchr. 16169 ff., and Ekkehard, tom.cit., p. 193,7; Kchr. 16640-16789 and Ekkehard, tom.cit., pp. 208 f.; for these and further parallels, see also the footnotes to Kchr., pp. 373 ff.
- 9 The following editions of the works named form the primary source of all future quotations: Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad (RL), ed. C. Wesle, 2nd ed. by P. Wapnewski, Tübingen, 1967 (ATB 69); Wolfram von Eschenbach, ed. A. Leitzmann, Books 4 and 5, Willehalm (Wh.), 5th ed., Tübingen, 1963 (ATB, 15-16); Herzog Ernst (HE), ed. K. Bartsch, Vienna, 1869, reprinted Hildesheim, 1969; Graf Rudolf (GR), ed. P. F. Ganz, Berlin, 1964 (Philologische Studien und Quellen, 19). Quotations from other editions will be separately noted in the footnotes.
- 10 Perhaps the best summary of these individual concepts from the historian's point of view is contained in Munro's attempt to reconstruct the contents of Urban II's sermon at Clermont by a comparison of the reported versions and subsequent references in later letters and bulls: D. C. Munro, "The Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont, 1095", AHR 11 (1906), pp. 231-42.
- 11 For the influence of Bernard and Innocent III on the crusading idea, see particularly also the following: V. Cramer, "Kreuzpredigt und Kreuzzugsgedanke von Bernhard von Clairvaux bis Humbert von Romans", Palästinahefte des deutschen Vereins vom Heiligen Lande 17-20 (1939), pp. 43-204; R. Röhrich, "Die Kreuzpredigten gegen den Islam, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der christlichen Predigt im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert", ZfK 6 (1884), pp. 550-72; U. Schwerin, Die Aufrufe der Päpste zur Befreiung des Heiligen Landes von

- den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang Innozenz IV, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der kurialen Kreuzzugspropaganda und der päpstlichen Epistolographie, Berlin, 1937 (Historische Studien, 301).
- 12 Cf. Schwerin, Die Aufrufe der Päpste, pp. 11 ff.
  - 13 H. Richter, preface to Kommentar zum Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad, Teil I, Berne/Frankfurt, 1972 (Kanadische Studien zur deutschen Sprache und Literatur, 6), p. 8.
  - 14 C. Erdmann, Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens, Stuttgart, 1935, reprinted Darmstadt, 1965.
  - 15 Ibid., pp. 5 ff.
  - 16 Ibid., pp. 9 ff.; cf. also H.-D. Kahl, "Zum Geist der deutschen Slawenmission des Hochmittelalters", ZfO 2 (1953), pp. 1-14, reprinted in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, ed. H. Beumann, Darmstadt, 1963, pp. 156-76, especially pp. 160 ff.
  - 17 Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 19 ff.
  - 18 Ibid., pp. 23 ff.
  - 19 Ibid., pp. 107 ff.
  - 20 E. O. Blake, "The formation of the 'crusade idea'", Journal of Ecclesiastical History 21 (1970), pp. 11-31. This idea of an idée de croisade emerging during the First Crusade is also propounded by P. Alphandéry and A. Dupront, La Chrétienté et l'idée de Croisade, I. Les premières Croisades, Paris, 1954.
  - 21 For recent studies of the crusading idea, see H. E. Mayer, Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, Hanover, 1960.
  - 22 P. Rousset, Les Origines et les caractères de la première Croisade, Neuchâtel, 1945.
  - 23 Ibid., pp. 27 f.; "Il n'y eut pas de croisade véritable avant l'expédition de 1099 à Jérusalem, mais la croisade, née de la volonté d'Urbain II, est le fruit d'un état d'esprit, le terme d'une évolution."
  - 24 Ibid., pp. 39 ff.; cf. also Blake, Journal of Ecclesiastical History 21 (1970), pp. 11 f. For the characteristics of the pilgrimage with special reference to the Crusades, see also R. Röhrich, "Die Pilgerfahrten nach dem Heiligen Lande vor den Kreuzzügen", Historisches Taschenbuch, 5. Folge, 5 (1875), pp. 321-67 and notes.
  - 25 Cf. RL 245 and Chapter 3, pp. 246 f; also, Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 91 ff., and Blake, Journal of Ecclesiastical History 21 (1970), p. 12.
  - 26 M. Villey, La Croisade, essai sur la formation d'une théorie juridique, Paris, 1942 (L'Eglise et l'Etat au Moyen Age, 6).

Villey examines the connection of crusading ideology with the institution of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land (pp. 85 ff.), and the distinction between la croisade and other holy wars (pp. 11 ff.).

- 27 Ibid., p. 90.
- 28 A. Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, Stuttgart, 1906 (Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen, 30-31).
- 29 Cf. above, note 11.
- 30 Cramer, Palästinahefte 17-20 (1939), p. 43.
- 31 Röhricht, ZfK 6 (1884), pp. 550 ff.
- 32 Schwerin, Die Aufrufe der Päpste, pp. 25 ff.
- 33 A. Noth, Heiliger Krieg und heiliger Kampf in Islam und Christentum, Beiträge zur Vorgeschichte und Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, Bonn, 1966.
- 34 Ibid., p. 147.
- 35 A. Cutler, "The First Crusade and the idea of 'conversion'", Muslim World 58 (1968), pp. 57-71 and 155-64.
- 36 Cf. Kahl, ZfO 2 (1953), pp. 1 ff. (Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, pp. 156 ff.); H.-D. Kahl, "'Compellere Intrare', Die Wendepolitik Bruns von Querfurt im Lichte hochmittelalterlichen Missions- und Völkerrechts", ZfO 4 (1955), pp. 161-93 and 360-401, reprinted in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, pp. 177-274; cf. above, note 16.
- 37 J. A. Brundage, "'Cruce signari', The Rite for Taking the Cross in England", Traditio 22 (1966), pp. 289-310, especially pp. 296 ff., and his appendices.
- 38 G. Ehrismann, "Die Grundlagen des ritterlichen Tugendsystems", ZfdA 56 (1919), pp. 137-216; also by the same author, Die Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters, Teil II, Die mittelhochdeutsche Literatur, II Blütezeit, 1. Hälfte, Munich, 1927, pp. 19-24; H. Naumann, "Das Tugendsystem", in H. Naumann and G. Müller, Höfische Kultur, Halle, 1929 (DVjs Buchreihe, 17), pp. 3-15. All these articles are also reprinted in Ritterliches Tugendsystem, ed. G. Eifler, Darmstadt, 1970, pp. 1-84, 85-92, 93-105.
- 39 E. R. Curtius, Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter, Berne, 1948, pp. 508-32 (also reprinted in Ritterliches Tugendsystem, pp. 116-45).
- 40 Cf. T. Steinbüchel, Vom Menschenbild des christlichen Mittelalters, Darmstadt, 1959, pp. 7 ff.
- 41 J. Bumke, Studien zum Ritterbegriff im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert, Heidelberg, 1964 (Beihefte zum Euphorion, 1).



- 42 Ibid., p. 9.
- 43 Ibid., p. 101 ff.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Cf. Erdmann, Entstehung, especially pp. 87 ff.
- 46 Bumke, Studien zum Ritterbegriff, p. 146 and note 104.
- 47 Curtius, Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter, pp. 508 ff.; cf. D. Rocher, "Tradition latine et morale chevalresque", EG 19 (1964), pp. 127-41 (reprinted in German translation by J. K. Schmidt in Ritterliches Tugendsystem, pp. 452-77).
- 48 W. Hempel, Übermuot diu alte ... Der Superbia-Gedanke und seine Rolle in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, Bonn, 1970 (Studien zur Germanistik, Anglistik und Komparatistik, 1).
- 49 Ibid., pp. 96 ff., 163 ff.; D. H. Green's review (MLR 67 (1972), pp. 461-4) points out that Hempel's reference to the Gefolgschaftsverhältnis between God and knights is outdated, although Germanic features are certainly discernible in feudal relationships of the kind referred to. This development is also exhaustively treated in D. H. Green, The Carolingian Lord, Cambridge, 1965, especially pp. 216 ff.
- 50 The literature is considerable: e. g. Munro, AHR 11 (1906), pp. 231 ff.; H. E. J. Cowdrey, "Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade", History 55 (1970), pp. 177-88; R. Röhricht, Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges, Innsbruck, 1901, reprinted Aalen, 1968, pp. 19 ff.; L. Bréhier, L'Eglise et l'Orient au Moyen Age, Les Croisades, 4th ed., Paris, 1921, pp. 55 ff.; F. Chalandon, Histoire de la première Croisade jusqu'à l'élection de Godefroi de Bouillon, Paris, 1925, pp. 37 ff.; R. Grousset, Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume franc de Jérusalem, Vol. I, Paris, 1934, pp. 1 ff.; A. Waas, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, Vol. I, Freiburg, 1956, pp. 7 ff.; S. Runciman, A History of the Crusades, Vol. I, Harmondsworth, 1965, pp. 106 ff.; H. E. Mayer, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, Stuttgart, 1965, pp. 15 ff.; H. Wollschläger, Die bewaffneten Wallfahrten gen Jerusalem, Zürich, 1973, pp. 15 ff. - the title suggests the point of interpretation; cf. also Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 304 ff.; Rousset, Les Origines, pp. 53 ff.; Villey, L'idée de la Croisade, pp. 81 ff.; Blake, Journal of Ecclesiastical History 21 (1970), pp. 17 f.; etc. The original accounts of the chroniclers of the Council of Clermont will be referred to in subsequent chapters.
- 51 Cf. Pope Urban II's letter to the peoples of Flanders and Bologna - letter II and III in Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Innsbruck, 1901.
- 52 For these details of Urban's sermon, cf. Munro, AHR 11 (1906), pp. 236 ff.

- 53 Cf. E. Caspar, "Die Kreuzzugsbullen Eugens III", NA 45 (1924), pp. 300 ff.; also A. Boček, Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae, Vol. I, Prague, 1836-1903, pp. 241 ff.
- 54 Cf. Cramer, Palästinahefte 17-20 (1939), pp. 46 ff.; Mayer, Geschichte, pp. 98 ff.
- 55 For Bernard's innovations in crusading propaganda, see Mayer, Geschichte, pp. 99 ff.; cf. Bernard's letter to the people of the East Franks, Ep. 363 in J. P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina (MPL), Paris, 1844 ff., Vol. 182, 564B ff.
- 56 De Laude Novae Militiae, MPL 182, 921A ff.
- 57 Cf. Register Innozenz III, Vol. I, ed. O. Hageneder and A. Haidacher, Graz/Cologne, 1964 (Publikationen der Abteilung für historische Studien des österreichischen Kulturinstituts in Rom, Abt. 2, R. 1).
- 58 Cf. Mayer, Geschichte, p. 172; Cramer, Palästinahefte 17-20 (1939), p. 98; Schwerin, Die Aufrufe der Päpste, pp. 43 and 63.
- 59 These characteristics are common to most of the chroniclers and will be referred to in detail in subsequent chapters; cf. Wollschläger, Die bewaffneten Wallfahrten, pp. 26 ff., for typical excerpts from such accounts of the First Crusade.
- 60 Cf. E. F. Ohly, Sage und Legende in der Kaiserchronik, Untersuchungen über Quellen und Aufbau der Dichtung, Münster, 1940 (Forschungen zur deutschen Sprache und Dichtung, 10), reprinted Darmstadt, 1968, pp. 180 ff.
- 61 Cf. the footnotes to Kchr., pp. 381 ff., where the parallels to Ekkehard of Aura's chronicle are recorded. Mayer, Geschichte, pp. 60-3; Waas, Geschichte, I, pp. 136-44; Runciman, History, I, pp. 213-35; etc. Also Ekkehard's account in Ekkehardi Uraugiensis Abbatis Hierosolymita, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Tübingen, 1877, Chapter XIV, 5-6, pp. 148-51 and Chapter XIV, 9, pp. 152-4, which besides being a source of crusading history is of course an example of medieval Latin prose writing in its own right.
- 62 E. Nellmann, Die Reichsidee in deutschen Dichtungen der Salier- und frühen Stauferzeit: Annolied - Kaiserchronik - Rolandslied - Eraclius, Berlin, 1963 (Philologische Studien und Quellen, 16), especially pp. 104 ff.
- 63 Cf. Müller, FS Wolfgang Mohr, p. 259
- 64 Ibid., p. 267; Müller sees the reason for the lack of MHG chronicling of the Crusades in the preponderance of French participation in the Crusades themselves and in the organization of the Latin kingdom of Palestine; cf. his note 93, p. 279.
- 65 Cf. Conclusion to Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad, mittelhochdeutscher Text und Übertragung, ed. D. Kartschoke,

- Frankfurt, 1970, pp. 396 ff., and H. de Boor, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur; Vol. I, 6th ed., Munich, 1964, pp. 240 ff.; J. Bumke, Wolfram von Eschenbach, 2nd ed., Stuttgart, 1966 (Sammlung Metzler, M36), pp. 79 ff. Also B. Mergell, Wolfram von Eschenbach und seine französischen Quellen, I Willehalm, Münster, 1936 (Forschungen zur deutschen Sprache und Dichtung, 6); de Boor, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, II, pp. 114 ff.
- 66 La Chanson de Roland, publiée d'après le manuscrit d'Oxford (ChdR), ed. J. Bédier, Paris, 1966.
- 67 Cf. the conclusion to Kartschoke's edition, p. 396, and his translation of the appropriate passage from Einhard's Vita Karoli Magni (cf. above, note 65).
- 68 Louis the Pious did not become Emperor until 814 on the death of Charlemagne. The historical battle on which Willehalm and the French sources are based took place in c.793; cf. Bumke, Wolfram von Eschenbach, p. 79; also O. Mann, Deutsche Literaturgeschichte von der germanischen Dichtung bis zur Gegenwart, 2nd ed., Gütersloh, 1969, p. 51.
- 69 Cf. the general survey by W. J. Schröder, Spielmannsepik, 2nd ed., Stuttgart, 1967 (Sammlung Metzler, M19).
- 70 Representative of the proponents of a restrictive definition of the Crusades among literary critics is H. Schindler, Die Kreuzzüge in der altprovenzalischen und mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik, Progr. Dresden, 1889, p. 1, where he maintains that "... unter den Kreuzzügen (werden) ... die gegen Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts beginnenden Züge gegen die klein-asiatischen Mohamedaner ... verstanden", although he admits "Den Troubadours erschienen indes die Kämpfe gegen die spanischen Mauren ganz in demselben Lichte wie jene Fahrten nach dem Morgenland." (quoted in Hölzle, FS Kurt Herbert Halbach, p. 57). Cf. also Waas, Geschichte, I, pp. 106 ff., for the restrictive view of a Crusade from the point of view of a historian.
- 71 Müller, FS Wolfgang Mohr, pp. 254 et passim, in his four-fold grouping of Kreuzzugsdichtung, in which the Rolandslied and Willehalm are seen as "Dichtungen, die Idee und Durchführung eines Kreuzzuges verherrlichen und/oder propagieren", fails to take this distinction into consideration.
- 72 Cf. Schröder, Spielmannsepik; Müller, FS Wolfgang Mohr, p. 259, refers to these works as "Abenteuer- und Minneromane, in denen Kreuzzug und Heidenkampf nicht ... das beherrschende Erzählthema bilden, sondern Hintergrund und Rahmen sind."
- 73 Müller, FS Wolfgang Mohr, p. 267.
- 74 Cf. Schröder, Spielmannsepik, p. 15.
- 75 For the parallels between three of these minstrel epics, see I. Benath, "Vergleichende Studien zu den Spielmannsepen König Rother, Orendel and Salman und Morolf", Parts I and II, PBB (H) 84 (1962), pp. 312-72 and 85 (1963), pp. 374-416.

Unfortunately, Benath restricts her analysis to formal parallels and constructions, although she admits that recurring motifs are often linked to recurring phrases (Part I, p. 313). A summary of the results of research into Spielmannsdichtung until 1965 is contained in M. Curschmann, "'Spielmannsepik', Wege und Ergebnisse der Forschung von 1907-1965", DVjS 40 (1968), pp. 434-78 and 597-647.

- 76 König Rother (Roth.) eds. T. Frings and J. Kuhnt, 3rd ed. by I. Köppe-Benath, Halle, 1968 (Altdeutsche Texte für den akademischen Unterricht, 2); Der Münchener Oswald (MOsw.), ed. G. Fuchs, Breslau, 1920 (Germanistische Abhandlungen, 52); Der Wiener Oswald (WOsw.), ed. G. Baeseke, Breslau, 1920 (Germanistische Abhandlungen, 28); Orendel (Or.), ed. H. Steinger, Halle, 1935 (ATB, 36); Salman und Morolf (SuM), no editor quoted, Halle, 1968 (Altdeutsche Texte für den akademischen Unterricht, 1). Wolfram's Willehalm also contains elements of the motif of Brautwerbung, as do the first two books of Parzival (Parz.), 6th ed. by K. Lachmann, Berlin, 1965 (cf. Chapters 5 and 6 below).
- 77 Schröder, Spielmannsepik, p. 76 f.
- 78 Cf. Friedrich von Hausen's "Si welnt dem tode entrunnen sin" (MF 53, 31 ff.), Walther von der Vogelweide's "Elegie" (Die Gedichte Walthers von der Vogelweide, 11th ed. of the Lachmann edition of 1843 by C. v. Kraus, Berlin, 1950, 124,1 ff. - referred to hereafter by the standard abbreviation L), etc.
- 79 Cf. H. Wenzel, Frauendienst und Gottesdienst, Studien zur Minneideologie, Berlin, 1974 (Philologische Studien und Quellen, 74).
- 80 Cf. above, note 2.
- 81 The ideas of Wentzlaff-Eggebert expressed in his fundamental work Kreuzzugsdichtung (cf. above, note 2) are prepared and expanded in a number of articles, of which the following are of most interest for our purposes: "Ritterliche Lebenslehre und antike Ethik", DVjS 23 (1949), pp. 252-73; "Kreuzzugs-idee und mittelalterliches Weltbild", DVjS 30 (1956), pp. 71-88; "Geschichtliche und dichterische Wirklichkeit in der deutschen Kreuzzugslyrik", FS Joseph Lortz, Vol. II, Glaube und Geschichte, Baden Baden, 1958, pp. 273-86; "Wandlungen der Kreuzzugs-idee in der Dichtung von Hoch- und Spätmittel-alter", WW 12 (1962), pp. 1-7.
- 82 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, p. V.
- 83 Ibid., p. IV: "Idee und Wirklichkeit einer großen Bewegung (sollen) spiegelbildlich gesehen werden können", und again: "Vor allem sollte die der geschichtlichen Situation nicht entgegenstehende, sondern ihr gleichgesetzte poetische Wirklichkeit als Entstehungsraum einer Idee gezeigt werden."
- 84 G. Wolfram, "Kreuzpredigt und Kreuzlied", ZfdA 30 (1886), pp. 89-132. Cf. W. Schröder's review of Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, AfdA 73 (1962), pp. 6-13.

- 85 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, p. IV.
- 86 Ibid., pp. 6 ff.; cf. Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 310 ff.
- 87 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 20 ff.; cf. Cramer, Palästinahefte 17-20 (1939), pp. 49 ff.
- 88 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 131 ff.; cf. Runciman, History, II, pp. 264 ff. and 403 ff.
- 89 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 219 ff.; cf. Cramer, Palästinahefte 17-20 (1939), pp. 93 ff.
- 90 Cf. H. J. Gernentz's review of Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, Weimarer Beiträge 8 (1962), pp. 197-203, especially pp. 198 f. and 201, whose criticism is clear and constructive, at the same time emphasising the immense value of the work.
- 91 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, p. IV.
- 92 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, WW 12 (1962), pp. 2 f. and Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 213 ff. and 247, where he refers to Willehalm as the "breiteste und zugleich persönlichste Darstellung von christlichem und heidnischem Rittertum unter dem Leitgedanken der Kreuzzüge" - also quoted by F. Neumann in his review of Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, ZfdPh 83 (1964), pp. 248-54. Neumann also points to the very real danger in the use of such modern critical concepts as "Wirklichkeitsempfinden" and "Wirklichkeitsnähe" (art.cit., p. 251) as a criterion for 12th and 13th Century literature.
- 93 Cf. Waas, Geschichte, I, pp. 346 ff.; II, pp. 57 ff., 256 ff. et passim.
- 94 This is not explicit in his Kreuzzugsdichtung, but is clearly stated in his adaptation of H. Schneider's article "Kreuzzugsliteratur", in Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte, eds. P. Merker and W. Stammeler, 2nd ed. by W. Kohlschmidt and W. Mohr, Vol. I, Berlin, 1955-8, pp. 885-95; cf. also Schröder's review of Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, AfdA 73 (1962), pp. 8 f.
- 95 S. J. Kaplowitt, Influences and Reflections of the Crusades in Medieval German Epics, Parts I and II, University of Pennsylvania Ph.D. thesis, 1962. S. Stein, Die Ungläubigen in der mittelhochdeutschen Literatur von 1050 bis 1250, Heidelberg, 1933, reprinted Darmstadt, 1963.
- 96 Cf. Kaplowitt, Influences and Reflections, I, p. 97, where in his interpretation of Graf Rudolf his generalised conclusions are based on the supposed background of the poet in comparison with that of Konrad. See also his parallel of the attitude to the heathen in Salman und Morolf with that of the Crusader in the Third Crusade, as seen in a translation of the chronicle of Richard I's journey to the Holy Land (Part I, pp. 69 ff.).
- 97 Ibid., p. xxiii; Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 179 ff.

- 98 Ingebrand, Interpretationen (cf. above, note 2).
- 99 Ibid., p. 5: "Indem die Kreuzzugslyrik vielmehr irdische Minne und Gottesminne, mithin zwei zentrale Werte ritterlich-höfischen Daseins, zueinander in Beziehung setzt, werden die Träger der mittelalterlich-höfischen Daseinsordnung zu einer grundsätzlichen und persönlichen Stellungnahme aufgefordert, der sich auch der Dichtersänger nicht entziehen kann."
- 100 Ibid., pp. 93 ff.; cf. also Wolfram, ZfdA 30 (1886), pp. 97 ff.
- 101 Böhmer, Untersuchungen (see above, note 2).
- 102 Ibid., pp. 9 f.
- 103 Ibid., pp. 11 ff.; cf. U. Müller's review of Böhmer, Untersuchungen, AfdA 80 (1969), pp. 148-51 and his comments in FS Wolfgang Mohr, p. 254 et passim.
- 104 A restrictive view of the Crusade and crusading literature no longer seems to be generally acceptable; for a review of the recent situation, see Hölzle, FS Kurt Herbert Halbach, pp. 55-72; Müller, FS Wolfgang Mohr, pp. 251-80, with the bibliography contained in his footnotes, and his introduction to the collection of crusading texts, Kreuzzugsdichtung, p. V.
- 105 Cf. Gernentz's review of Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, Weimarer Beiträge 8 (1962), p. 198.
- 106 Cf. Kaplowitt, Influences and Reflections, and his attempts to include aspects of crusading influence in other works which are not usually accepted as crusading literature.
- 107 F. Heer, Aufgang Europas, Eine Studie zu den Zusammenhängen zwischen politischer Religiosität, Frömmigkeitsstil und dem Werden Europas im 12. Jahrhundert, Vienna/Zürich, 1949, and Die Tragödie des Heiligen Reiches, Stuttgart, 1952.
- 108 Heer, Tragödie, p. 106 et passim.
- 109 Ibid., pp. 108 f.
- 110 Ibid., p. 109.
- 111 Nellmann, Die Reichsidee (cf. above, note 62).
- 112 For an admittedly generalising and controversial summary of important works referring to the Rolandslied, see the introduction to I. Nöther, Die geistlichen Grundgedanken im Rolandslied und in der Kaiserchronik, Hamburg, 1970 (Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Dissertationen, 2) and the bibliography in Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 323 ff. See also the review article by J. R. Ashcroft, "Questions of method - recent research on the Rolandslied", FMLS 5 (1969), pp. 262-80.

- 113 H. Backes, Bibel und Ars Praedicandi im Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad, Berlin, 1966 (Philologische Studien und Quellen, 36).
- 114 Ashcroft, FMLS 5 (1969), pp. 265 ff.
- 115 Nöther, Die geistlichen Grundgedanken (cf. above, note 112).
- 116 Ibid., pp. 29 f.
- 117 Cf. the review of Nöther, Die geistlichen Grundgedanken, by H. Backes in ZfdPh 92 (1973), pp. 124-8, who points out most of Nöther's conflicting and self-contradictory expositions and textual explanations. Other examples are not difficult to find: e. g. Nöther's explanation of the rôle of asceticism (p. 58) does not take into consideration RL 3445, 3942-7, 4197-4205, etc.; his interpretation of uaig (p. 77, note 2) - especially in RL 3240 - is incorrect; it refers to Christian, not heathen warriors.
- 118 Richter, Kommentar, I (cf. above, note 13).
- 119 J. Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, Studien zur Epenstruktur und zum Heiligkeitsbegriff der ausgehenden Blütezeit, Heidelberg, 1959. Cf. the very critical review of this work by G. Meissburger, ZfdPh 81 (1962), pp. 109-17, and the more objective views of W. J. Schröder, PBB (T) 82 (1960), pp. 411-21, and W. Schröder, Euph. 55 (1961), pp. 91-7.
- 120 Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 126 ff.
- 121 Ibid., pp. 132 ff.
- 122 Ibid., pp. 143 ff.
- 123 B. Willson, "Einheit in der Vielheit in Wolframs Willehalm", ZfdPh 80 (1961), pp. 40-62.
- 124 Wolfram von Eschenbach, Willehalm, Text der 6. Ausgabe von K. Lachmann, translated and annotated by D. Kartschoke, Berlin, 1968.
- 125 Cf. the many corrections by S. M. Johnson in his review of Kartschoke's translation, JEGP 69 (1970), pp. 130-7.
- 126 C. Lofmark, Rennewart in Wolfram's Willehalm, Cambridge, 1972.
- 127 H. Szklenar, Studien zum Bild des Orients in vorhöfischen deutschen Epen, Göttingen, 1966 (Palaestra, 243).
- 128 Ibid., pp. 113 ff.
- 129 W. Kühnemann, Soldatenausdrücke und Soldatensarkasmen in den mittelhochdeutschen Epen bei besonderer Berücksichtigung von Wolframs Willehalm (Diss.), Tübingen, 1970.
- 130 Ibid., pp. 121 ff.
- 131 See above, pp. 23 ff.



- 132 Charlemagne's canonisation was declared on 29th December, 1165. Frederick Barbarossa saw himself as another Charlemagne (cf. Heer, Tragödie, pp. 246 ff.). Robert the Monk has Pope Urban II refer to the legend of Charlemagne's journey to the Holy Land, representing him as a predecessor of those taking the Cross (Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux (RHC), Paris, 1844 ff., reprinted Farnborough, 1967, Vol. III, 728 B f.).
- 133 Cf. H. Röhr, "Die politische Umwelt des deutschen Rolandsliedes", PBB 40 (1940), pp. 1-39; H. Teske, "Die andere Seite: der Reichsgedanke des Mittelalters in welfischer Dichtung", Deutsches Volkstum, Monatshefte für Geistes- und Geschichtsleben 17 (1935), pp. 813-17; E. F. Ohly, "Zum Reichsgedanken des deutschen Rolandsliedes", ZfdA 77 (1940), pp. 189-217; Nellmann, Die Reichsidee, pp. 164 ff.; cf. also Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 113 ff.
- 134 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 83 ff.
- 135 Kchr. 15-23.
- 136 Ohly, Sage und Legende, passim.
- 137 Ibid., pp. 13 ff., and above, note 8.
- 138 Ibid., pp. 10 ff.
- 139 Cf. Böhmer, Untersuchungen, and Nöther, Die geistlichen Grundgedanken.



Part I: Crusading concepts inherited from other  
conventions and fields of medieval society

The crusading idea, both in its historical origins and in its reflection in vernacular literature, is a complex mixture of secular and spiritual ideas which cannot be merely restricted to the period of crusading activity in Western Europe and the Orient. Part I of our study analyses those concepts included in the crusading idea whose origins can be seen to lie in a period before the First Crusade or in aspects and conventions of medieval society which had a deep and lasting effect on nobility, knighthood and clergy alike. The political hegemony of Western Europe was a loose association of kingdoms and principalities owing allegiance to an Emperor, whose political power lay in his ability to subdue his enemies by force and whose spiritual power as the head of imperial Christendom was at variance with the stronger papal claims to spiritual leadership over Christianity; the ordering of medieval society based on the system of feudal relationships had repercussions on the development of a social class whose existence was dependent on the principle of warfare; the central place occupied by the Church and the Christian religion in medieval society and the importance attached to a true Christian existence entailed a strict adherence to the rules of the Church and the development of a system of punishment and exoneration for sinners. Such political, social and clerical trends had their varying effects on the military expeditions to the Orient and in particular on the ideology associated with these expeditions.

The historical analysis of these political, social and clerical trends in the following three chapters present the background to the medieval Europe in which the Crusades

developed, and our analysis of the historical sources must of necessity go far beyond the crusading propaganda forming the basis for the historical analysis in Part II of our study. In the same way, the analysis of vernacular literature in the light of these important trends in medieval society entails an interpretation going further than the purely linguistic one, in order to arrive at an understanding of the individual poet's handling of his material and of his own reaction to such trends. The following chapters thus present a narrowing on the historical and literary plane from a wider complex of medieval existence to what constituted the crusading idea in the Church's propaganda and the interpretation of this idea by the MHG poets. Only when those concepts contributing to the birth of the crusading idea have been isolated, will it be possible to arrive at a definition of the concepts this idea generated for itself and how far MHG poets may be seen to reflect genuine crusading concepts or their own interpretation of what these concepts meant or should mean for their public.

The following chapters thus include a wide field, both in historical sources and in MHG literature, but the presentation of the crusading idea in vernacular literature, influenced by the poet's individual experience, by the source of his material and by his intentions with respect to his public, is part of the wider picture that MHG poets have of their own social environment. Although this picture must not simply be equated with historical reality, these literary reflections present a valuable indication of the principles by which Western knighthood stood and the background for an analysis of the effect of the crusading idea on these knightly classes.

Chapter 1: The Imperial Holy War and the Crusade.

An understanding of imperial ideology in the High Middle Ages depends on an interpretation of a complicated interaction of factors: the process of christianisation among the Germanic tribes; liturgical developments in the ceremonial associated with the medieval ruler and the development of a fundamentally theocratic principle of kingship; the attempts at a political unification of Europe in the Empire; and the relationship between secular and spiritual authority. Wars which were fought in the name of the Empire, whether as wars of defence or wars of aggression, owed their justification partly to the political position of the Emperor, partly to the spiritual and sacral aura which surrounded his person, and partly to the changing attitude of Church dogma to the profession of the knight and to warfare in general.

Missionaries preaching the Christian religion were constantly faced with a strong resistance by the predominantly tribal Germanic religion among the Frankish tribes, and although it would be an oversimplification to talk of "eine weitgehende Germanisierung des Christentums"<sup>1</sup>, or indeed of a christianisation of the Germanic cults, the Church was nevertheless here obliged to make compromises, for it was not initially possible to prevent the Frankish tribes from accepting the Christian religion in their own way, which entailed not only a mythicising but also a political interpretation of the figure of Christ<sup>2</sup>. On the one hand God was seen very much in Old Testament terms as the All-powerful the Creator, the Judge, or the Victor in battle, which

allowed the Germanic warrior to retain much of his former ethos and gave him the chance of serving God as King. On the other hand the Franks were not at first susceptible to the transcendental nature of Christ's rôle on earth and his place in the heavenly kingdom. Christ was more of a Messianic figure, a victor over evil on earth, and in the early Middle Ages the Christian godhead was understood in the sense of a union of the figures of the Father and the Son, where the power of the Holy Spirit was subsumed by Christ himself. In accordance with OT tradition, Christ was thus seen to be king over heaven and earth, the Christus rex<sup>3</sup>, and all secular rulers owed their power to the grace of God in whom all power originated<sup>4</sup>. In this way, our analysis of medieval secular authority must of necessity have recourse to earlier and contemporary conceptions of divinity.

The late Roman and early Christian Emperor was not only king, he was at the same time priest - rex et sacerdos - and as such he was the vicegerent of the heavenly Emperor Christ on earth<sup>5</sup>. When Charlemagne became Emperor, all Latin Christians were seen to be united in the Empire, which, in the view of Alcuin of York, Charlemagne's spiritual adviser, was the practical manifestation of Augustine's civitas Dei<sup>6</sup>, although the Empire was far from being unified on the political plane.

The sacral nature of kingship inherent in this view reveals itself in the liturgical ceremonial of royal unction and in the royal acclamations<sup>7</sup>. The ceremonial of royal unction took its origins from the Old Testament<sup>8</sup> and was the visible representation of the institution of rex Dei

gratia<sup>9</sup>. This Frankish doctrine, first seen in the anointing of Pippin the Younger by St. Boniface in 751 or 752 and then again by Pope Stephan II in 754, and firmly established in the coronation of Charlemagne on Christmas Day 800 by Pope Leo III, was a revival of the biblical kingship of David. At the same time, the Frankish tribes had come to look upon themselves as the chosen people of God<sup>10</sup>, and they saw their historical heritage not so much in Imperial Rome as in the hosts of Israel leaving Egypt - again an indication of the impact which the Old Testament made on early medieval society. They therefore regarded their ruler both as a successor of the pagan Roman caesars and especially as a successor of Moses and David, and believed in his sacral nature through the ceremony of anointing; he was, as was David, christus domini<sup>11</sup>.

The imperial connection with the city of Rome was laid at the same time. Pope Stephan II had approached Pippin in 754 with a request for support against the Lombards who were supposedly threatening Rome, and Pippin had promised the Pope this protection, thus gaining the title of patricius Romanorum<sup>12</sup> and laying the foundations for the idea of the medieval Emperor as protector of Rome and of Christianity in general. With the coronation of Charlemagne, this idea of an office added by the Pope to the vocation of king became more pronounced<sup>13</sup>. Rome again became the centre of the Roman Empire, and with the additional justification of the so-called Constantinian Donation, the Byzantine Empire and Emperor were relegated to the subsidiary position of a Greek kingdom and regulus<sup>14</sup>. Despite Charlemagne's efforts to bring about a reconciliation, this split between

Eastern and Western Christendom grew wider, causing untold rivalries between the Crusaders and the Byzantine Emperors<sup>15</sup>, and reaching its head in the ill-fated Fourth Crusade of 1204. Charlemagne had adopted much of the aura of Old Testament kingship through the ceremony of anointing<sup>16</sup>, but by transferring the title of Roman Emperor from Byzantium to Rome, Pope Leo III had also added to Charlemagne's position much of the aura of the older rôle of Emperor - the christus imperator<sup>17</sup>. Charlemagne's Empire was the imperium christi-anum<sup>18</sup> and it was his duty as Emperor to protect not only the Roman Church in the same sense as his father had promised, but also the whole of Christendom, which in this sense was identical with his Empire<sup>19</sup>. The coronation was not seen at this time as a translatio imperii by the Pope, although the foundations for the conflict between Hohenstaufen Emperors and Pope Innocent III were here laid. Rather, Charlemagne saw the coronation as the visible manifestation of God's bestowing the Emperorship on him and his descendants. Charlemagne had his son, Louis the Pious, crown himself as Co-Emperor in 813 A.D. without the Pope, and in general he seems to have been opposed to a close juristic connection of Empire and Papacy<sup>20</sup>.

Papal involvement in the Empire increased gradually throughout the 9th Century and formed the origins for the first Investiturstreit. Charlemagne's son, Louis, despite his independent coronation as Co-Emperor while his father was alive, repeated the ceremony with unction by the Pope and was crowned with Constantine's crown<sup>21</sup>. This practice was adopted by Louis' successors, so that the idea of "Roman" Emperorship and of the Emperor as the creation of

the Pope gained in prominence and became more and more anchored in the liturgical act of coronation, which now took place at Rome itself<sup>22</sup>. Similarly, a growing feeling of independence from secular influence on the part of spiritual leaders, and a view of society in which each should be content with his own office or ordo, arose during the late 9th Century<sup>23</sup>.

The collapse of the Empire as a result of the political weakness of Louis the Pious, and its division after his death, was to have several consequences: the foundations for the two separate kingdoms of France and Germany were laid; the attempts to subdue the Eastern parts of the Empire under Louis the German and Louis the Child saw the beginnings of the German Slavenmission, of major importance for the influence of imperial ideology on such subsequent crusading expeditions as the campaign against the Wends in 1147<sup>24</sup>; a growing feeling of unity among the Eastern parts of the old Frankish Empire after the death in 911 of the last East Frankish Carolingian king, Louis the Child, represented the beginnings of a later rebirth of the Roman Empire under the German Emperors of the Ottonian, Salian and Hohenstaufen families; papal authority was again weakened by the lack of support from a strong Empire and by the rise of Byzantine influence in Southern Italy<sup>25</sup>. The later rebirth of the Roman Empire under the German Emperors was further heralded by the efforts of Conrad I and Henry I - but it was with Otto I that the Empire was to be ostensibly reunited, although the relationship of Papacy and Empire was to remain complicated for another three centuries.



The political power which Otto the Great had won in his campaigns to unify Germany, against the machinations of the nobility at home and against the Lombards in Italy, the Hungarians at the Battle of Lechfeld and the Slavs at Rechenitz, was realisable only in a renewal of the Roman Empire on the Carolingian model. This came into effect in principle with his coronation as Emperor in 962 (his earlier coronation and anointing as king in Aachen had already intentionally imitated the Carolingian custom). Otto's Emperorship differed, however, from the Carolingian in several ways: the political emphasis was on the Roman heritage of the ancient caesars, more than on an Old Testament heritage, but at the same time, liturgically, the Ottonian Emperorship became more christocentric in outlook, i. e. the earthly Emperor was seen as the imitator of the heavenly Emperor Christ, he was christomimētes<sup>26</sup>; the universalism or Weltherrschaftsgedanke of the Roman caesars was also adopted by the Ottonian Emperors<sup>27</sup>; the Roman Church became as from 955 a German proprietary church system, the Reichskirche, whereby the bishops and abbots were only to be appointed by the monarch (the principle of Investitur); with the so-called Ottonianum of 963 A.D., this principle was applied to the Papacy, so that until the decree by Pope Nicolas II in 1059 all subsequent Popes were dependent on the Emperor's good will<sup>28</sup>. With the coronation of Otto I, the German kings (who were kings of Italy by right of their election) gained a prerogative to the Emperorship until the mid-13th Century. Despite the weakness of the Papacy during the Ottonian Empire, each successor to Otto the Great attached special importance to coronation by the

Pope, so that the legal position of the Papacy as bestower of the Emperorship was strengthened<sup>29</sup>. Although the Pope was also more or less an appointee of the Emperor during the first half of the 11th Century, the papal administration in Rome nevertheless began to attract ecclesiastics of a different political colouring, and the papal-hierocratic system of government rapidly grew in importance<sup>30</sup>.

The following two centuries were characterised by two conflicting tendencies in Emperorship and Papacy: resistance by the German Emperors to papal attempts to deprive the Emperorship and the liturgical ceremonies surrounding it of its sacral nature produced a corresponding emphasis on the traditional Carolingian ideals of Emperorship<sup>31</sup>; on the other hand, the reformed Papacy was anxious to free Church authority from all secular influence, especially with regard to the imperial appointment of spiritual offices. Despite the efforts by Pope Nicolas II and Pope Gregory VII and the eventual ending of the so-called Investiturstreit in the Concordat of Worms in 1122, this conflict of Emperorship and Papacy was to have far-reaching consequences for the Empire, especially under the Hohenstaufen family, and is also directly responsible for the initially luke-warm reaction of the German Emperors to papal crusading initiatives.

Papal authority rested in the interpretation of Christ's words to Peter<sup>32</sup>:

Et ego dico tibi, quia tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non praevallebunt adversus eam. Et tibi dabo claves regni coelorum. Et quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in coelis: et quodcumque solveris super terram, erit solutum et in coelis.

The Pope as Peter's successor claimed universal authority as

gubernator<sup>33</sup> of the faithful and as one and only vicarius Christi - the Empire could therefore lay no claims to being a Holy Empire<sup>34</sup>. The German Emperors, however, at least until the Investiturstreit, had seen themselves as the leaders of Christendom and the Empire as its realisation<sup>35</sup>. The Emperor was the representative of the heavenly Emperor Christ<sup>36</sup>.

The reaction of the German Emperors to papal attempts to undermine their authority consisted of a continuing fight to bolster up the theocratic principle of kingship and to reinterpret Christian society as a united civitas Dei<sup>37</sup>. The principle of royal dualism, whereby the Pope was seen to have authority for the spiritual needs of society and the Emperor for the secular needs, although later to be reinterpreted in the Pope's favour by St. Bernard<sup>38</sup>, was a very weak answer by imperial theoreticians to the papal principle of universalism. The Empire was seen as the sacrum imperium, as a recreation of the Augustinian civitas Dei, indeed as part of the Heilsgeschichte whereby the imperium was one side to united Christendom, and the duty of the Emperor was the protection and expansion of this God-ordained community. This principle of a unity of imperium and sacerdotium was to find its strongest expression in the work of Otto of Freising and his whole-hearted support of the Emperor Frederick I<sup>39</sup>.

The medieval understanding of the Empire and of the figure of the Emperor until the death of Frederick II was founded on the principle of the unity of Empire and Christendom, whereby the Emperor as the representative of Christ was ordained with the holy mission of protecting and expanding

his kingdom on this earth; as such he was also the protector of the Church of Rome, and had taken on much of the aura of the pagan Roman Emperors without losing any of his sacral nature. Significantly enough, the late Hohenstaufen Emperor Frederick II combined this two-fold historical justification for imperial authority by insisting on his inheritance of Charlemagne's Holy Empire and on the heritage passed down from the Roman caesars - a situation of primary importance for our later analysis of the imperial position in Willehalm in comparison to the Rolandslied<sup>40</sup>. The figure of the Emperor and references to his sacral nature form one strand of imperial ideology in medieval Latin sources; in addition, an analysis of the growth of the concept of "holy war" and of the political relationship between Papacy and Empire during the Early and High Middle Ages will provide the background necessary to illustrate the relationship between "imperial" and "crusading" concepts in MHG crusading literature, and will be of equal relevance for reflections of traditional Church attitudes towards non-Christians also examined in more detail in Part III of our study.

2. Christian dogma has been faced with an extreme paradox throughout its existence: on the one hand Christianity represents a universal missionary religion based on love, charity, humility and peace and rejects the principle of war<sup>41</sup>; on the other hand the Church has had to come to terms not only with war in the interest of the state, which later entailed war against heathen states, but also with the warrior virtues such as bravery, obedience, physical strength, etc.<sup>42</sup>. In this sense, it was only in the

Christian religion that a fundamental difference could be made between a "holy" war and a war for political, financial or expansionist reasons. In a religion which was basically tribal in its orientation, as was the pagan Germanic religion of the Frankish and Slav tribes which the Christian religion was to contest for so long on the borders of Europe, this tribal god was seen to be fighting with his people against the gods of another state and their followers: every war was thus a "holy" war<sup>43</sup>. The Christian religion, on the other hand, with its universal missionary character, aimed at the conversion of all non-Christians, a fundamentally spiritual act not to be associated with any war-like activity. The Church's attempts to resolve this basic dichotomy between its teaching and tribal belief involved a continuing series of compromises, and medieval theology presents various attempts to justify the use of warfare in the service of Christendom.

The close association of the Christian Church and the state during the Emperorship of Constantine, where service in the Christian army was not only encouraged but represented the duty of every true Christian, was only a temporary period during which aggressive holy wars were fought<sup>44</sup>, and especially in the West the Church made efforts to regain its independence from the state. It was Augustine who laid the foundations for the principle of "holy" war in all its forms, and who presented the first clear definition of the attitude which Christianity was to adopt to warfare in general. His distinction between bellum iustum and bellum iniustum restricted the use of arms to a war of defence or a war to regain stolen property<sup>45</sup>:

iusta enim bella ea definiri solent quae ulciscuntur iniurias, si qua gens vel civitas, quae bello petenda est, vel vindicare neglexerit quod a suis inprobe factum est vel reddere quod per iniurias ablatum est. sed etiam hoc genus belli sine dubitatione iustum est, quod deus imperat ...

This did not in the last instance sanction holy war, but rather laid down the principles whereby arms were to be used by a Christian in any situation. Augustine later referred to this interpretation of a holy war in his comments on exceptions to the 5th Commandment in De civitate Dei<sup>46</sup>:

... et ideo nequaquam contra hoc praeceptum fecerunt, quo dictum est: "Non occides", qui Deo auctore bella gesserunt aut personam gerentes publicae potestatis secundum eius leges, hoc est iustissime rationis imperium, sceleratos morte punierunt; ...

Augustine's twofold definition is important for a later understanding of the attitude of the individual warrior to his rôle in a holy war, and of the political relevance and justification of war against another state or social group, whether heathen, heretic or mere political adversary: that is to say, the difference is already present here between heiliger Kampf and heiliger Krieg<sup>47</sup>, whereby the former is a forerunner and important early stage in the development of the bellum sacrum and of the Crusades.

Augustine's conception of the civitas Dei, when coupled to the bellum Deo auctore and the warrior's attitude to his profession, for the first time gave the holy war its justification in Christian dogma - but Augustine did not as yet sanction an aggressive missionary war to convert the heathen. He permitted the use of force only against lapsed Christians and heretics as a disciplinary measure, but no force was allowed in the positive side to missionary activity, in the baptising of heathen converts - the convert was to enter the Christian Church voluntarily<sup>48</sup>. The

expansion of the idea of a holy war to that of an indirect missionary war, to a military expedition against heathen states with the aim of subduing them before the direct missionary aim of conversion could follow, was the work of Gregory I<sup>49</sup>. This missionary aim of the medieval Church had its negative and positive side: on the one hand the spiritual power of the heathen religion had to be destroyed, on the other hand the Christian religion had to be planted in its stead. A battle was fought on the spiritual level against the Devil for God. This dual nature of the Christian mission becomes clear not only in the chronicles and documents of the period<sup>50</sup>, but also in early formulae for baptism: the convert was called upon to forsake his heathen gods and to believe in the threefold Christian God and his Church:

... Forsahhistû allễm thễm bluostrum indi dên gelton  
indi dîn gotum, thie im heidene man zi bluostrum indi  
zi geldom enti zi gotum habễnt? ...  
Gilaubistû in got fater almahtîgan? ...  
Gilaubistû in Christ, gotes sun nerienton? ...  
Gilaubistû in heilagan geist? ...  
Gilaubistû einan got almahtîgan in thrînissee inti in  
eînissee? ...  
Gilaubistû heilaga gotes chirichûn? ... etc. <sup>51</sup>.

At the same time, early medieval life was seen in material terms, and the true Christian as servant of God did battle on the spiritual plane with the legions of the Devil. The militia Christi of this period was a militia spiritualis, in contrast to the warrior classes in the material world which were a militia saecularis<sup>52</sup>. It is therefore understandable if the medieval Church had difficulty in opposing a growing development in secular society towards a war-orientated way of life, and eventually accepted and sought to justify in its dogma a Christian Kriegerethik.

Christianity thus gradually came to terms with the most important element of Germanic society - war and battles and an ethical code based on heroism and physical prowess<sup>53</sup>.

Gregory I's expansion of the ideas of Augustine into a holy missionary war paved the way for the Carolingian viewpoint where the Emperor was not only protector of the Christian state but also servant of the Church endowed with the religious mission to expand Christendom<sup>54</sup>; the Pope and the clergy were to give the Emperor spiritual aid in this task<sup>55</sup>. The prerequisite for an expansionary war for Christendom in the early Middle Ages was a close association of Papacy and Empire (as in Pippin's agreement with Pope Stephan II which enabled the Frankish Emperor to wage war in the name of the Roman Church<sup>56</sup>). This was only possible because of the unique position of the medieval Emperor as rex et sacerdos<sup>57</sup>. The medieval warrior remained at this time a miles saecularis; in the person of the ruler, however, the functions of war and of missionary activity in the name of Christendom were united<sup>58</sup>. Augustine had already freed the individual warrior from responsibility for the justness of his cause and placed this responsibility in the hands of the ruler<sup>59</sup>; when, however, the state was identical with Christendom, and the ruler was head of imperial Christendom, all wars undertaken by the ruler in his function as vicarius Christi must be holy wars. The dual function of the Emperor made it incumbent upon him to undertake the imperial task of dilatio imperii christiani<sup>60</sup>.

The situation on the borders of the Carolingian Empire gave ample opportunity for the task not only of expanding but also of protecting the universal Christian Empire and



of extending the pax christiana. Charlemagne's campaigns in Aquitania, Lombardy, Spain and also against the Saxons<sup>61</sup> illustrate another aspect of the early medieval combination of holy war and missionary war centred on the person of the medieval ruler, namely, that of enforced conversion, which goes beyond Augustine's view of a holy war or his theory of coge intrare. It is clear from Einhard's description of Charlemagne's campaigns that the Saxons could not be converted peacefully and that military subjugation was necessary before baptism and integration into the Frankish Empire could take place<sup>62</sup>:

Eaque conditione a rege proposita et ab illis suscepta tractum per tot annos bellum constat esse finitum, ut, abiecto daemonum cultu et relictis patriis caerimoniis, Christianae fidei atque religionis sacramenta susciperent et Francis adunati unus cum eis populus efficerentur.

The origins of the second strand of aggressive military activity in the name of the Empire and the Church on the Empire's Eastern borders are here apparent: the direct, as opposed to the indirect missionary war. In the latter, military subjugation was necessary to create the conditions for peaceful conversion; in the former, the only alternative to conversion was death, a principle which was to be renewed with great vehemence in 1147 with St. Bernard's preaching of a Crusade against the Wends<sup>63</sup>.

The results of the Carolingian expansion of the Empire and of the protection of the respublica christiana was that the Church's attitude to war and more especially to war against heathen peoples changed during the 9th and 10th Centuries. Whereas earlier the penance for killing one's enemies in battle was 40 days<sup>64</sup>, war against the heathen was now made an exception; Nicolas I forbade those doing

penance the use of arms nisi contra paganos<sup>65</sup>. Similarly, with the attempted reunification of the Empire under Conrad I, Henry I and eventually Otto I, the defensive element of war against the heathen characteristic of the Carolingian Empire gradually gave way to an aggressive element<sup>66</sup>. The differences of the Ottonian Empire from that of the Carolingians<sup>67</sup> also affected the view of the holy war against the heathen. With the increase of military activity against the Slavs in the early 10th Century, the defensive and aggressive aspect of war against the heathen fused, so that missionary activity and defence of the Empire both became incumbent on the Emperor. The political universalism of the Carolingian Emperors and the heritage of the ancient Roman Emperors (dilatio imperii) combined with the principle of the Emperor as defender of the Church, the original justification for the holy war (defensio ecclesiae)<sup>68</sup>.

This view of imperial Christendom remained a popular one throughout the Middle Ages, but at the same time other currents of thought can also be traced: imperial involvement in holy wars depended on the power of particular Emperors and the support he received from the Pope; imperial leadership of the holy war was restricted to Germany and Italy<sup>69</sup> - outside these two nations a development was taking place which was to be of importance for the crusading knight's rôle. In the other nations belonging to the Empire, notably in France, the heritage of the missionary holy war was gradually transferred from the Emperor to members of the nobility, so that it now became the duty of the chivalric aristocracy to defend the Church and the Christian state and to extend 'the bounds of Christendom'<sup>70</sup>. The

development was a slow one, but during long periods in the 9th and 10th Centuries the Church had to rely on the local nobility in military activity against the heathen because of a decline of central imperial authority. At the same time, the internal reform of the Church associated with Cluny and with Gregory VIII included feudal knighthood in Christian liturgy, so that the knight's sword also became sanctified for service in the Church's name<sup>71</sup>.

The principle of the holy war retained much of its validity even during the crusading period<sup>72</sup>. It was primarily in Eastern Europe that the position of the ruler as protector of the Church retained its original validity - outside this area of imperial activity the influence of papal authority on feudal knighthood increased with the appearance of a papal army to defend the Church<sup>73</sup>. As early as 853, Pope Leo IV had promised heavenly reward for those who died while protecting the Christian faith and Empire<sup>74</sup>:

Novit enim Omnipotens, si quilibet vestrum morietur, quod pro veritate fidei, et salvatione patriae, ac defensione Christianorum mortuus est; ideo ab eo praetitulatum praemium consequetur.

This was the first in a long line of encouragements for the individual knight to participate in war against the heathen. The campaigns on the Eastern borders of the Empire can be seen either as indirect missionary wars under imperial guidance, where in the historiography constant use was made of such phrases as regnum Christianitatis dilatare, fidem propagare, religionem Christianum, cultum Christianum, fidem amplificare, etc.<sup>75</sup>, or purely political considerations were important, so that Henry II could form an alliance with a heathen tribe against the Christian Poles as enemies of the Empire<sup>76</sup>. "Nicht die Religion, sondern die etwaige

Zugehörigkeit zum Reich machte einen entscheidenden Unterschied aus<sup>77</sup>." This imperial Realpolitik was naturally condemned by the Church<sup>78</sup>.

Bruno of Querfurt is considered as the only predecessor of the uncompromising attitude to heathen conversion in his letter to Henry II quoting Christ's words compelle intrare<sup>79</sup>. In this he is associated with Bernard of Clairvaux's later preaching for the Second Crusade and for the campaign against the Wends. The heathen were either to be converted forcefully or exterminated - an attitude which Augustine had permitted the Church only in its dealings with heretics and apostates<sup>80</sup>. Bruno's forceful statement also recognised the royal duty of the ruler to expand Christendom<sup>81</sup>. Bruno's words may also be seen to conform to the traditional pattern of heathen war, because the heathen tribes had been christianised at an earlier date, and it could be maintained therefore that "das de facto verlorene Land am anderen Ufer der Elbe de jure weiterhin ein christliches sei"<sup>82</sup>. It was therefore also justifiable to use the words compelle intrare in their old sense, and necessary to use force to return the Christian churches to their original state (in canon law their actual Christian state could not be changed<sup>83</sup>) and to punish those heathen who had abandoned the Christian religion during the Slav rebellion of 983<sup>84</sup>. As late as 1108 an appeal for a campaign against the heathen on the Eastern borders of the Empire associated with Archbishop Adalgot did not mention christianisation or extermination but subjugatio, that is to say an indirect missionary war<sup>85</sup>. The difference in the formulation of this appeal may reflect the historical development in crusading ideology and previous approaches to

chivalric society by the Papacy. The traditional rôle of the ruler as responsible for the holy war was here abandoned in favour of an appeal directly to the knighthood in general<sup>86</sup>.

Bernard of Clairvaux's appeal for a Crusade against the Wends in 1147 - a campaign which opened the way for an extension of the crusading idea to campaigns against heathen opponents other than the Moslems in Spain and the Holy Land<sup>87</sup> - was in many respects firmly rooted in the tradition of imperial war against the Slavs. Bernard talked of a punitive expedition ad faciendam vindictam in nationibus<sup>88</sup>, and he forbade all political dealings with the heathen<sup>89</sup>:

Illud enim omnimodis interdicimus, ne qua ratione  
ineant foedus cum eis, neque pro pecunia, neque pro  
tributo ...

But in addition he understood the campaign to be carried out<sup>90</sup>:

... ad ... et extirpandas de terra Christiani nominis ...  
and

... donec ... aut ritus ipse, aut natio deleatur.

- perhaps the most uncompromising view of the heathen war in extant medieval historical sources. Although Pope Eugene III also issued an encyclical to support Bernard's preaching, he referred only to the military aspect of the campaign<sup>91</sup>, and his appeal does not substantially differ in intent from that of 1108. Both Bernard and Eugene III regarded the projected campaigns in the Holy Land and against the Slavs (as also a parallel expedition in Spain under Alfonso VII of Castille against the Saracens) in the same light, as a comparison of the encyclica shows<sup>92</sup>. The words of the chronicle by Helmold of Bosau<sup>93</sup>, in which the leaders of the German crusading army to the Orient state the aim of their

expedition to the Greek Emperor:

... remandaverunt se nichil inquietudinis moliri, qui propter ampliandos fines pacis peregracionem ultroneam assumpserint.

are applicable to both the campaign in the East and the Second Crusade proper. In this sense, the extension of the pax christiana was identical with the traditional Carolingian and Ottonian view of the imperial holy war as an extension of the imperium Christianum.

The influence of Bernard's preaching on medieval thought was a great one<sup>94</sup>, and his unambiguous alternative of death or conversion made an impact far beyond the area for which it was intended - "eine Auffassung, die damals über beträchtliche Teile des Abendlandes bis weit über Sachsen hinaus verbreitet gewesen sein muß"<sup>95</sup> - although he is practically alone in extant historical sources in his uncompromising stand. The majority of propaganda and chronicles of this campaign avoid the formulation of compelle or coge intrare and refer to the missionary aim more common to later imperial activity of christiane religioni subiugare<sup>96</sup>.

It was predominantly in military activity against the heathen tribes on the Eastern borders of the Empire that the heritage of the imperial holy war retained its validity even during the period of the Crusades. The expansion and protection of Christendom as the God-ordained duty of the ruler only gradually came to be transferred to the nobility and to the individual knight. The Crusades to the Holy Land had a different emphasis from the propaganda for these campaigns: the land to be conquered was seen as not only originally Christian but also holy, in that it was the place in which Christ lived and performed his miracles, a fact

constantly repeated in papal bulls and letters<sup>97</sup>. The campaigns on the Eastern borders of the German Empire were partly wars fought to regain Christian territory but partly also wars of expansion. The missionary aspect of these campaigns often became fused with the punitive aspect, which was reflected in contemporary sources. Nevertheless, the heritage of the imperial holy war remained very strong in the religious and political awareness of the Middle Ages, a fact made easier by the attempts of various Emperors from the Ottonians until the later Hohenstaufens to base justifications for their position and power on the Carolingian tradition. The extent to which the ideology of the imperial holy war retained its validity even during later Crusades can be seen in crusading sources and in the vernacular literature of the time.

A summary of the above conclusions reveals that the medieval understanding of the figure of the Emperor was based on his duty as head of Christendom: the Emperor was protector of the Church of Rome; it was his duty in his sacral function as universal head of the Christian community to protect this body and to extend the bounds of God's kingdom on earth in missionary wars against the heathen, to create, by force if necessary, the politically stable atmosphere necessary for the conversion of God's enemies; this duty was ordained by God and ensured that the Empire took its legitimate place in the Heilsgeschichte; service of the Empire was therefore service of God and entitled to heavenly reward; the sacral aura surrounding the Emperor by virtue of his anointment bestowed on him imperial and sacerdotal powers, and demanded of him an exemplary conduct in his

function as protector of the weak and judge over all his subjects; he firmly embodied the long tradition of imperial ideology reaching back to the Carolingian Emperors and the heritage of the Frankish nation as a chosen people, but at the same time was entitled to universal authority in the world based on his inheritance from the later Roman caesars; despite continual attempts at Church independence, he clung to his rights of influence in the Reichskirche; despite his claim to universal authority as head of Christendom, he was ready to admit to a royal dualism which shared secular and spiritual authority between himself and the Pope respectively; all those standing outside the Christian community had no claims to protection by the Emperor and in extreme cases, in the event of their not submitting to conversion peacefully, should be forced to make this act or indeed be exterminated as evil. These concepts of imperial ideology combine and at times contradict each other in the portrayal of the medieval ruler and his function in the literature of the Middle Ages. It is understandable that in Church propaganda, papal bulls and letters, the picture of the Emperor and his authority should be less emphasised and that of the Pope given more prominence, although as late as 1074 Gregory VII admitted the imperial position which God granted Henry IV, while emphasising his responsible position with respect to the Christian faith and the body of its followers<sup>98</sup>:

... non solum tibi, quem Deus in summo culmine rerum posuit, per quem multi possunt aut a recto tramite aberrare aut Christianam religionem observare, sed etiam minimo christiano adjuvante Deo semper studebo ... charitatem custodire.



The vernacular literature sprang more directly from the political heritage of the Empire, despite the rôle that Church dogma played in medieval society, and so presents a picture of the Emperor closer to that which the medieval ruler had of himself. The remainder of this chapter shows the extent to which imperial ideology is reflected in the contemporary crusading sources, and traces this older imperial ideology in MHG crusading literature, especially with regard to the wars against the heathen.

3. Imperial ideology finds its most direct expression in medieval Latin liturgical and historical sources in the references to the title which Emperors attached to their person and to the political complex in which they embodied the secular authority. The text of a Missa pro regibus in the Gelasianum<sup>99</sup> commenced with the words:

Deus qui praedicando aeterni regni evangelio Romanum imperium praeparasti ...

and Henry of Albano prefaced a letter to Frederick Barba-rossa in 1187 with the words<sup>100</sup>:

Excellentissimo domino et christianissimo principi Frederico Dei gratia glorioso Romanorum imperatori semper augusto ... salutem ...

The German kings were at the same time by election kings of Italy, and with references to Rome as the centre of Christendom early medieval Emperors were endowed with the title of patricius Romanorum<sup>101</sup>. Whereas it was also common since the 10th Century to refer to all Christian rulers as defenders of the Church, the special duty of advocatus ecclesiae Romanae was the prerogative of the Emperor. This medieval use of the Roman title is thus reminiscent of the heritage from later Roman caesars inherent in the imperial

position, and of the practice of coronation by the Pope in the holy city since the Carolingian rulers. Otherwise, the position of Emperor as head of lay Christendom was stressed in Church sources, as illustrated in the prayers pro christianissimo imperatore nostro (without the Roman attribute) associated with the liturgy of Good Friday<sup>102</sup>. In addition, the Christian Emperor was not only secular head of Christendom, but possessed a sacral nature and sacerdotal authority. The historiography of the Crusades provides an interesting parallel with this spiritual imperial authority in references to the corresponding position believed to be filled by the heathen secular and spiritual leader of "Babylon" a common Western term for Egypt during the crusading period<sup>103</sup>:

*Ipsa (sc. pars Babylonis) autem, quae inhabitatur et Baldach vocatur, maxima est et populosa et, cum de imperio debeat esse Persarum, summo sacerdoti suo, quem ipsi Caliph dicunt, a regibus Persarum concessa, ut et in hoc quaedam habitudo, sicut sepe iam dictum est, inter Babyloniam et Romam eluceat, quia, quod hic a Christiano imperatore summo nostro pontifici in urbe Roma traditum est, hoc ibi a paganis Persarum regibus, quibus ex longo tempore Babylonia subiacuit, eorum summo sacerdoti indultum est.*

It was the duty of the medieval Emperor to protect the Christian Church and the whole of Christendom, but also as spiritual leader to expand the bounds of God's kingdom on this earth. The crusading historiography contains references to this aspect of imperial ideology, despite emphasis on the papal initiation for crusading expeditions to the Orient. Albert of Aachen had Baldwin I maintain before the attack on Ramla during the First Crusade that the crusading battles also had their political motivation, in that they were fought on behalf of the Empire and individual nations<sup>104</sup>:

"... inimici innumerabiles obstant in arcu, in hastis, in gladiis fulmineis, quos penetrare et expugnare pro imperio Romanorum, pro regno Franciae et Angliae, non hodie opponerem, nisi gratia Domini nostri Iesu Christi: ..."

and in his account of the fall of Gibiloth he presented the idea of Christian expansion at the expense of the heathen<sup>105</sup>:

... ad expugnandam ipsam Gibiloth quaerens, ut, civibus Sarracenis exterminatis, urbs Christianorum haberetur.

Even the heathen believed in the Christian desire for colonialist expansion. The author of the Gesta Francorum allowed Kerboqa to write to the people of Khorasan about the Christians at Antioch<sup>106</sup>:

... quod minantur nos suis armis propulsare et expellere ab omnibus finibus nostris ...

The campaigns against the Moors in Spain were also expanding Christendom<sup>107</sup>:

... expeditionem super Mauros ad depressionem et confusionem paganismi, et ad exaltationem atque aedificationem Christianismi ... praedicavit, ...

Henry of Albano aptly described the imperial function of Frederick Barbarossa as to protect Christendom and the Christian faith, which crusading propaganda saw to be threatened by the heathen attacks on the Holy Land<sup>108</sup>:

... imperialem exoramus et monemus in Domino pietatem, quatinus laborem presentium benigne recipiat et ita ad vindicandam iniuriam conditoris sicut decet imperatorem christianissimum magnanimiter accingatur, quod sicut providentia diuina maiestatem uestra super colla cuiuslibet terrene potestatis extulit, sic alios christiane deuotionis exemplo precellat et mundus uniuersus fidei uestre puritatem expertus ad conterendos hostes fidei libere accendatur ...

Christian and Moslem accounts of such heathen attacks on the Holy Land and on the crusading army in the Orient, the attempts to explain the heathen claim to sovereignty and the desire by heathen leaders to overcome Christian territory or to protect their own political boundaries from invasion by

the Infidel<sup>109</sup>, often drew parallels with the Christian idea of bellum sacrum. Albert of Aachen laid colonialist motives in the mouth of Soliman during his account of the Moslem conquest of Nicaea<sup>110</sup>:

"Nicaeam inquit, urbem, quam nosti nominatissimam, et terram quam dicunt Romaniam, de regno Graecorum, quam auxilio tuisque viribus ex tuo dono et gratia nobis collatam acquisivimus, ..."

and he presented the Turkish occupation of the Holy Land as a political subjugation of territory<sup>111</sup>:

Trecenti Turci erant qui civitatem sanctam captivaverant, longo tempore in ea dominati, plurimis in circuitu urbibus Syriae et Palistinae regionis illis tributariis factis, quas rex Babyloniae, cum Iherusalem quondam subditas et regno suo appendentes, potenter obtinere solebat.

The Arab chronicles of the Crusades also contain many references to imperial ideology and to their own principle of a parallel holy war against the Christian Empire. The Crusaders were referred to as Banu 'l-Asfar<sup>112</sup> or descendants of the Romans; the declaration of the ḡihād was responsibility of the heathen ruler<sup>113</sup>; the heathen Emperor Saladin was regarded as the bulwark and head of the Moslem religion<sup>114</sup>; the Arab understanding of a Christian bellum sacrum was of an expansionary war to extend the bounds of the Empire<sup>115</sup>. In all, the parallels between the principles of bellum sacrum and the various interpretations of a Moslem ḡihād are remarkable<sup>116</sup>.

Just as important to imperial ideology in a crusading context is the idea of protection of the Christian territory, and it was Urban II's avowed purpose to protect the Eastern Christians from heathen attack<sup>117</sup>. In this, his thinking follows traditional Church doctrine and is one of the instances where papal and imperial thought coincide;

Gregory VII had already made the same appeal to protect the Christians in the Orient in 1074<sup>118</sup>:

Scitote igitur nos, in misericordia Dei et in potentia virtutis ejus confisos, omnibus modis id agere atque parare ut adjutorium Christiano imperio quam citius, Deo juvante, faciamus.

and he was addressing himself here omnibus Christianam fidem defendere volentibus.

The missionary aim to convert the heathen associated with the imperial duty to expand Christendom is also reflected as a subsidiary aim of the First and subsequent Crusades<sup>119</sup>, an aim originally propounded in crusading propaganda by the Papacy but shared by the imperial crusading armies and by the Western crusading nobility in their campaigns in the Orient. Conversion was at times nothing more than the consequence of victory<sup>120</sup>:

... pagani qui uellent Christianitatem recipere essent cum eo, et qui uellent abire ... abire permetteret.

Nevertheless, the chroniclers of the Crusades also pointed to a definite desire to convert the heathen as an additional motivating force<sup>121</sup>:

Cumque hostium exercitum conspexissent innumerabilem, genibus flexis Deum invocaverunt ut qui in aliis sibi necessitatibus semper affuerat, in presenti bello, confractis viribus paganorum et diaboli, regnum Christi et aecclesias a mare usque ad mare usquequaque dilateret.

Albert of Aachen maintained of the Christian knights at Jerusalem<sup>122</sup>:

Videntes autem Christiani principes quia vir prudens, nobilis et strenuus idem foret Sarracenus, de vita et moribus ejus saepius inquirentes ac disputantes, ad christianitatis fidem eum vocare conabuntur.

although this was an individual case. Even the aim of Louis VII was declared as a missionary one by Odo of Deuil<sup>123</sup>:

Rex, quasi iam nactus gaudium suum fidei propagandae ...

Once the heathen had been christianised, the only objection to any form of contact with them was removed<sup>124</sup>:

... eique christianitatem liberius promittebat, et eum se diuitem cum multo honore mandabat ...

Otherwise, the Christian leaders presented an uncompromising attitude towards the heathen after victory, as was repeatedly emphasised in crusading chronicles<sup>125</sup>.

Crusading historiography presents a further concrete reflection of imperial ideology in its references to the Charlemagne legend, which grew up especially in the 11th Century<sup>126</sup>. This legend supposed a direct line of connection between the Emperor and the Holy Land, in so far as he was seen to have been in contact with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and almost to have exercised a protectorate over the Holy Sepulchre. It is difficult to calculate the effect of such legends on the crusading armies at large, although the route taken by the First Crusade was seen to be the same as that taken by Charlemagne in a subsidiary legend, in which the Emperor was supposed to have made the journey to Jerusalem<sup>127</sup>. The author of the Gesta Francorum was aware of this legend<sup>128</sup>:

Isti potentissimi milites et alii plures quos ignoro uenerunt per uiam quam iamdudum Karolus Magnus mirificus rex Franciae aptari fecit usque Constantinopolim ...

and Ekkehard of Aura dismissed the rumour that Charlemagne had risen from the dead to lead the Crusade as a work of fiction<sup>129</sup>:

Inde fabulosum illud confictum est de Karolo Magno quasi de mortuis in id ipsum resuscitato ...

The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa may also be seen as the crux of the Emperor's imitatio Karoli<sup>130</sup>.

Imperial ideology and ideas associated with the imperial holy war thus clearly remain relevant for crusading propaganda and find a reflection in the liturgy of the Church in the period immediately preceding the Crusades. Indeed, the crusading idea not only reflects earlier principles in its attitude towards the heathen, but also adopts linguistic formulae common to an earlier period in the Latin language for propaganda and chronicles. This imperial ideology and instances of thought associated with the medieval Empire are also varyingly manifested in the vernacular literature of the High Middle Ages.

In the first instance references to the person of the Emperor and to his function abound. Thus Karl is presented in the Rolandslied as cheiser<sup>131</sup>, but also in his function as romische uoget or uoget uon Rome<sup>132</sup>. This title is also used in the Kaiserchronik to refer to Constantine and Heraclius as well as to Karl and to other Emperors<sup>133</sup>, and Rome is seen as the centre of Christendom, for example with Constantine as Emperor and Silvester as Pope:

und Rôme ain houbet waere  
aller der di der christenhaite jaehen<sup>134</sup>. Kchr. 8082

Louis in Willehalm is also seen as a Roman king: den Rômaere Lôis<sup>135</sup>, and significantly enough, this view of both Karl and Louis as Roman rulers is also presented through the eyes of the heathen<sup>136</sup>. The use of the attribute "Roman", especially in connection with keiser or uoget, is a traditional expression of the title which Emperors attached to their person and the Empire during the Middle Ages, as we have seen in liturgical and historical sources. The Kaiserchronik uses the title uoget with and without this attribute to express the duty of every Christian ruler

to protect the Church<sup>137</sup>. With its Roman attribute, however, the title has special association with the Holy City, and in the Kaiserchronik and the Rolandslied refers to the special responsibility of the Emperors since Pippin for Rome, although, in the Rolandslied, Aachen, not Rome, is the seat of the Emperor. Nevertheless, reference enough is made to Rome as the centre of Christendom. In the Kaiserchronik Karl gains the title of protector of Rome by virtue of his march on Rome to free Pope Leo III (presented here as Karl's brother) from the Roman citizens who had blinded him<sup>138</sup>. The title of uoget uon Rome in the Rolandslied also expresses the superiority of Karl over other Christian kingdoms and includes the claims to Weltherrschaft associated with the later Roman Empire, a claim which the Carolingian Emperors are known to have adopted<sup>139</sup>:

ich haize der uoget uon Rome;	RL 7653
alle werltliche chrone	
di sculen mir sin unter tan:	7655

and again:

alle die chünige die in der werlte sint, RL 7317  
die achter sām ain niubornez wester chint.

This former expression of Karl's authority is in answer to Baligan's challenge attacking Karl's right to world supremacy<sup>140</sup>, and is at the climax of the battle between the two worlds of Christianity and the heathen. The second quotation is in the words of Brechmunda, the heathen queen who eventually converts to Christianity. This world supremacy is based on Karl's divine mission to convert or destroy the heathen kingdoms which Konrad introduces in his prologue<sup>141</sup>. Karl is responsible for this mission to God - he has asked for this task and received it in God's name - and as such he is the representative of God, the vicarius Christi. Even



Genelun admits Karl's God-ordained mission:

wan ime iz got selbe geboten hat  
daz er die heiden bechere;

RL 2252

This mission is continually associated with his duty as head of Christendom to protect christenheit and so to gain heavenly reward<sup>142</sup>.

Konrad's references to both sides in the two battles are also important for the reflection of imperial ideology. By contrast, the Chanson de Roland presents Christian and heathen as political opponents and refers to them more consistently as Franks and Saracens. The main aim of Frankish policy in the Chanson is the extension of political power, and the missionary aspect plays a subordinate rôle<sup>143</sup>. The conflict is not so much between a Christian Empire and a heathen one, but more between France and the Saracen Spain. The Christian political complex is dulce France<sup>144</sup>, not Christendom in its entirety, and Charlemagne is seen as de France li empereure<sup>145</sup>. This national element is not completely eliminated by Konrad<sup>146</sup>, but the French nation is referred to as Karlinge (w. fem. sing.) and the Franks as Karlinge or Kaerlinge (masc. plur.). A more imperial connotation could be seen inherent in this nomenclature, as Karl is seen as the head of Imperial Christendom, although on the other hand it is known that writers of the Middle Ages developed the Latin forms Karlingia for the Western part of the Carolingian Empire and Karlingi for its inhabitants<sup>147</sup>. Nevertheless, Konrad's use of these names periodically goes beyond the narrow application to the geographical area of France: in the second battle, the Christian army is presented as the avenging arm of God with Karl, the imperial vicarius Christi, at its head.

Thus Karl chooses the Karlings as his own companions in battle:

di Karlinge wil ich selbe mir erkiesen; RL 7844  
and they are made distinguishable from the other Christians in battle:

der kaiser hiz si ir barte RL 7940  
uz uorne zihen;  
daz tet er in zeliebe,  
den Karlingen ze ainem zaichen,  
do iz scain uber ir gewafen.  
dar nach flizten sich iemir alle Karlinge 7945  
dem kaiser Karle zeminnen.

This association of the derivative from Karl's name with his close followers allows them to participate in this royal function of avenger, in the exemplary character of the Emperor, and also in the certainty of heavenly reward, in that they are also assisting Karl in his divine mission to subdue the heathen<sup>148</sup>.

Similar observations can be made for the imperial aspect of Willehalm. Willehalm is introduced as French and as second only to Charlemagne:

âne den keiser Karlen nie Wh. 3,30  
sô werder Franzois wart erborn: 4,1

and at the outset the political horizon does not go beyond the bounds of France, but remains within the bounds of the Chanson generally agreed to have been Wolfram's main source<sup>149</sup>. The author of Aliscans also takes sides to emphasise the national French aspect<sup>150</sup>:

Car douce France doi jo par droit garder Al. 2555  
Et en bataille l'oriflambe porter -

In the first battle in Willehalm the Christians are Franzoys(aere)<sup>151</sup>, and the territory from which they originate and to which Willehalm eventually sets out for aid is Francriche; in this respect the first battle remains very

much on the national level of the Chanson<sup>152</sup>. Nevertheless, the idea of daz rîche becomes more and more important - the turning point being Willehalm's clash with the French king in Laon, when the national aspect loses its importance<sup>153</sup>. Bumke has shown how Wolfram gradually weakens the nationally orientated material of the Chanson without breaking with the French milieu in which the action takes place<sup>154</sup>. Thus Wolfram still refers to Franzoys, but the narrow political boundary of France is extended to include Provence and Burgundy<sup>155</sup>, later Brittany, England, Flanders and Lorraine and the Belgian Brabant<sup>156</sup>, and finally the German knights<sup>157</sup>. Similarly, Louis is not purely a French king, but von Rôme der künec Lôys<sup>158</sup>, and also, like Karl in the Rolandslied, der roemesche voget<sup>159</sup>. The Christian soldiers are now Rômaere<sup>160</sup>, the leaders roemesche vürsten<sup>161</sup> who have been protecting Roman soil:

und der rehte segelwint,	Wh. 453,19
dâ von al Heimrîches kint	453,20
hânt gankert roemesche erde.	

The motivation of the second battle at Alischanz has thus shifted from a personal conflict based on the Minnestreit between Willehalm and Tybalt, where Wolfram refers more consistently to the national political place of the conflict, to a conflict between the Christian Empire and the massed heathen forces for world supremacy<sup>162</sup>.

The imperial position in Rolandslied and Willehalm as the all-powerful, responsible head of Christendom, epitomised in the title of roemescher voget, has its counter-figure in the heathen camp. Thus Baligan is king of Persia<sup>163</sup>, the counterpoint to Rome or Aachen, and ruler over 42 lesser kings<sup>164</sup>, but also heathen emperor (albeit here in a

somewhat negative light, as seen through the eyes of a fleeing heathen warrior):

"owi chunc Admirate, RL 6725  
chomestu nu drate  
zeschirmen dinu rîche, ..."

In Willehalm, Terramer has the same two titles, as voget of Baghdad and Emperor or admirât of the heathen:

swer den keiserlichen namen hât, Wh. 434,1  
den die heiden nennent admirât,  
derst ouch voget ze Baldac.  
Terramêr der beider phlac, <sup>165</sup>  
er was voget und admirât ... 434,5

This powerful empire of the heathen epitomised in the title of lord of Baghdad is also reflected in Parzival, where Gahmuret takes service in his entourage. Wolfram compares this bâruc, however, with the Pope<sup>166</sup> - an example of the stylised depiction of the heathen state and religion characteristic of MHG poets during the 12th and 13th Centuries<sup>167</sup>.

More important than the mere title of Emperor and the heathen equivalent is, however, the function of these leaders of Christendom and of the heathen world. Konrad presents Karl as superior to all other Christian kings:

ia nigent diner chrone RL 974  
alle cristin chünige ...<sup>168</sup> 975

Karl is the only ruler who can legitimately confirm the authority of other rulers, as Olivir emphasises in his words on defeating the heathen Algarich:

"dine chrone muz ain ander tragen: RL 6389  
sine chumet niemir uf din houbit 6390  
unz si dir min herre Karl erloubit."

The Emperor is in this way also the flower of Christendom:

di cristinheit ist mit dir gecieret<sup>169</sup> RL 942

and he alone on earth is the protector of Christendom and the Christian faith:

... grunt ueste der cristinheit, RL 1254  
 houbet unser arbeit, 1255  
 bluēt des heiligin glouben, ...<sup>170</sup>

Karl prays for heavenly aid for this imperial duty<sup>171</sup> and is willing to sacrifice his life to this end:

"ê der haiden Marsilie RL 6165  
 uber di cristen richsent werde:  
 min lichenname werde ê begraben in der erde."

Although Wolfram's portrayal of Louis in Willehalm is in contrast not flattering<sup>172</sup>, he nevertheless leaves his audience in no doubt as to the superior position among other Christian kings which the rôle of Roman Emperor bestows on Louis:

seht, waz man roemeschem keiser lât Wh. 434,6  
 ze Rôme an roemescher phahte.  
 hoch mit hôher ahte  
 hat roemesch krône vor ûz den strît,  
 daz ir niht ebenhiuze gît: 434,10  
 so scharph ist roemesch krône ervorht.  
 swaz ander krône sint geworht,  
 die ûf getouften haupten sint,  
 ir aller kraft gein dirre ein wint  
 ist: si enmugens et niht getuon. 434,15

and this quotation is equally applicable to Karl in the Rolandslied<sup>173</sup>. As leader of Christendom, it is Louis' duty to protect the boundaries of the Empire and to foil attempts to invade imperial territory. In this context, the battles in Willehalm are different from those in the Rolandslied in that they are defensive. Terramer's army is the aggressor and the Christian army under Willehalm is defending the borders against their üervart<sup>174</sup>. Willehalm, as a former vassal of Charlemagne<sup>175</sup>, is also the most exemplary vassal of Louis and has enabled him to become Emperor:

gap ich iu roemesche krône ... Wh. 145,17  
 daz rîche stuont in mîner hant:  
 ir wâret der selbe, als ir noch sît, 145,20  
 dô ich gein al den vürsten strît  
 nam, die iuch bekanden

und ungerne ernanden,	
daz si iuch ze herren in erkürn ...	145,25
ich engestatte in niht deheinen wîs,	145,28
si enmüesten iuch ze herren nemen <sup>176</sup> .	

and in the clash between Louis and his vassal at Laon, the crisis of imperial duty and ties of personal and feudal obligation comes to a head in Willehalm's behaviour before the assembled court.

Wolfram sees Louis' Empire as the continuation of Charlemagne's reign, and the scenes at Laon all depend on whether Louis will prove himself a true Karles suon<sup>177</sup>, whether he will stand by the oath he took on becoming Emperor, the roemesche phahte, to defend the Christian Empire and the Church<sup>178</sup>. Willehalm's aim on leaving Gyburg in Orange is to gain support not only from his family, but also from the Emperor:

dû muost nâch helfe rîten.	<u>Wh.</u> 103,12
von Rôme rois Lôiis	
und dîne mäge suln ir prîs	
an dir nû lâzen schînen.	103,15

The Empress is the first to deny him this aid, and, when she recognises the battle-soiled Willehalm from the castle windows<sup>179</sup>, her explanation that his battles against the heathen are motivated purely out of his love for Gyburg is only half-correct: Willehalm, like many of the other Christian (and heathen) knights, is presented as a Minneritter and one of the rewards promised the knights in battle is also that of Minne<sup>180</sup>. But, Willehalm is also Reichsritter: he has been protecting the borders of the Christian Empire which is essentially the duty of the Emperor. The unjust words by the Empress precipitate the situation where Willehalm breaks the rules of courtly society and of his knightly profession, and insults the honour of the Empire.

Wolfram tries his best to excuse his hero - explaining the personal reasons for his conduct and condemning the Empress for her false pride:

swenne ich nû rede gelerne,	Wh. 163,4
sô sol ich in bereden baz,	163,5
war um er sîner zuht vergaz,	
dô diu kûnegîn sô brogete,	
daz er si drumme zogete,	
des twanc in minne und ander nôt	
und mâge unde manne tôt.	163,10

but Louis is faced with a seemingly unsolvable problem. On the one hand he recognises the fallen knights in the first battle of Alischanz as Reichsritter<sup>181</sup> and accepts the justness of Willehalm's cause - that it is his person as Emperor which has been attacked<sup>182</sup> - yet on the other hand he cannot accept Willehalm's insult to the Empire<sup>183</sup>. At the same time he cannot refuse Willehalm aid for fear of being called a coward<sup>184</sup>, and yet is not prepared to be forced into giving this aid<sup>185</sup>. Throughout this scene, constant reference to Charlemagne emphasises the political nature of this conflict and the overtones of imperial ideology.

Louis finally solves this dichotomy by recognising that if he allows Terramer to invade his territory it will be a blot on his honour and on Christendom and Christianity. He accepts the advice of Willehalm's relatives:

des wirt diu kristenheit geschant	Wh. 182,26
und der touf entêret.	
ob iuch anders iemen lêret,	
wan daz ir iuch undz rîche wert,	
dem ist vil untriuwe beschert.	182,30

and agrees to aid Willehalm for the honour of his imperial position:

"ich hilfe in durch mîn selbes prîs,..." Wh. 183,3

Louis is now prepared to protect roemesch êre and den touf  
und unser ê<sup>186</sup> in conscious succession to Charlemagne:

der von Karle was erborn, Wh. 184,28  
der begienc dâ Karles tûcke.

In this way the second battle at Alischanz is also fought as a defensive battle for the protection of the Christian Empire, its honour, and the Christian faith<sup>187</sup> - but the parallels to the Rolandslied and to the tradition of the imperial holy war should not be overstressed. This imperial battle is presented as an imperial political conflict, and yet not only are crusading ideas associated with it<sup>188</sup>, but also in other respects the battle differs from the tradition of the imperial holy war. In Wolfram's work, it is Willehalm, not Louis, who is charged with the duty and imperial responsibility to protect Christendom as Louis' representative<sup>189</sup>. The idea of a mission is lacking in the second battle<sup>190</sup> and the claim to world supremacy is, in contrast to the Rolandslied, upheld only by the heathen forces<sup>191</sup> - Willehalm is thus quite plainly in a different era as regards imperial and crusading ideology.

The reflection of the ideology of the holy war, in either its defensive or aggressive form, is not restricted to "crusading" scenes in MHG literature, but is also reflected in various episodes of the Kaiserchronik. Heraclius is not only rômische voget<sup>192</sup>, but he, too, is called upon by God to declare a holy war against the heathen and regain the Holy Cross at Jerusalem<sup>193</sup>:

"ich sage dir, chunich, wie dû tuo: Kchr. 11179  
île dû dich gerehten, 11180  
ain volcwîch muost dû vehten  
mit samt dem chunige Cosdrâ.  
daz hailige crûce gewin dû wider dâ,  
des er got hât beroubôt.  
daz gebiutet dir von himele der waltinde got". 11185



Herâclîus der tiurlîche hêrre, ...	
ain hervart er sâ gebôt	11189
in der haiden lant.	11190

Here the motif of defensive holy war and God's mission are combined, and with the additional motivation of protecting the Holy Land and regaining the Holy Cross this episode is closer to historical crusading reality than the Rolandslied or Willehalm, despite other parallels in crusading thought and despite the direct responsibility for this campaign by the Christian ruler. This combination, with the Emperor as directly responsible to God for a mission, has a long tradition in German vernacular literature. The OHG Ludwigslied<sup>194</sup> of 881 describes how Louis III of the West Franks, who has God as his magaczogo<sup>195</sup>, and in direct responsibility to God, is called upon to protect the Christian Empire against the Norman tribes<sup>196</sup>, which, with God's support, he succeeds in doing, and the poet proclaims the victory as God's victory over his enemies:

Gilobôt sî thiû godes kraft: Hluduîg uuarth sigihaft;	55
Ioh allên heiligôn thanc! Sîn uuarth ther sigikamf.	
Uuolar abur Hluduîg, Kuning unsêr sâlig!	
Sô garo sôser hio uuas, Sô uuâr sôses thurft uuas,	
Gihalde inan truhtîn Bî sînan êrgrehtîn!	

The followers of Louis, although they are godes holdôn<sup>197</sup>, and although they sing Kyrrieleison<sup>198</sup> in battle, have no direct responsibility to God and are only offered material reward - in marked contrast to similar promises by the Church<sup>199</sup>.

The Kaiserchronik also presents the use of force to protect Christendom by Charlemagne:

mit dem swerte sol ich di christenhait bescirmen.	Kchr. 14537
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and Louis the Pious proclaims a pax Dei, the necessary prerequisite for calm imperial government<sup>200</sup> (also proclaimed

by Urban II at the Council of Clermont in an attempt to stop the internal feuding among the knights of the West):

er gebot ainen gotes fride: Kchr. 15140

The direct responsibility for the Empire as realisation of the Augustinian civitas Dei or united Christendom is also characteristic of the later Emperors, Louis the German and Henry V<sup>201</sup>. Later, this responsibility is also transferred to the nobility, so that the expansion and protection of the Empire under the control of the Emperor is seen to be the affair of Arnulf of Kärnten and Lothar II<sup>202</sup>. Even the account of St. Bernard's preaching of the Second Crusade emphasises the direct responsibility of Emperor Conrad II for God's mission<sup>203</sup>:

er chom ze dem chunige Chuonrâte, Kchr. 17278  
 er manet in harte  
 mit sîner suozen lêre. 17280  
 er sprach, daz selbe unser hêrre  
 in dar zuo erwelte.

The imperial overtones in military activity against the heathen are also present where crusading atmosphere is only a background for heroic or legendary depiction of a hero and his adventures - in the Spielmannsdichtung. The Emperor Solomon is the leader of all Christendom:

zû Jerusalem wart ein kint geborn SuM 1,1  
 daz sît zû vougte wart erkorn  
 uber alle cristendiet:  
 daz was der kunig Salmân,<sup>204</sup>

and is referred to as keiser throughout<sup>205</sup>. In König Rother the aggressive attitude of war against the heathen is clearly expressed<sup>206</sup>, whereas in Herzog Ernst the Christians protect the Empire from heathen attack:

Die kristen werten wol ir lant. HE 5579

These examples may, however, for the most part be already formulaic.

The crusading lyric of Walther von der Vogelweide, on the other hand, presents the figure of the Emperor as the elected of God, the head of Christendom and imago Christi, whose duty it is to spread the pax christiana and both to protect and to expand the boundaries of the Christian Empire: thus in the Ottenton, Walther presents the Emperor as superior to all other Christian rulers:

der küneges name ist iu benomen:  
des schînet iuwer krône ob allen krônen<sup>207</sup> L. 11,31

The duty of the Emperor is to maintain peace in the Empire in order to unify and expand Christendom:

Hêr keiser, swenne ir Tiuschen fride L. 12,18  
gemachet staets bî der wide,  
sô bietent iu die fremeden zungen êre. 12,20  
die sult ir nemen ân arebeit,  
und stüenent al die kristenheit:  
daz tiuret iuch, und müet die heiden sêre.

The Emperor is God's representative on earth and his sacral duty as expressed in his imperial oath is the protection of Christendom<sup>208</sup>:

Hêr keiser, ich bin frônebote L. 12,6  
und bring iu boteschaft von gote.  
ir habt die erde, er hât daz himelrîche  
er hiez iu klagen (ir sît sîn voget),  
in sînes sunes lande broget 12,10  
diu heidenschaft iu beiden lasterlîche.  
ir muget im gerne rihten:

These words are part of the imperial tradition in German vernacular literature of a ruler being called to battle by God or an angel, extending from the Ludwigslied through Heraclius in the Kaiserchronik, Karl in the Rolandslied, and the Münchener Oswald<sup>209</sup> (here combined with the theme of Brautwerbung), which could even be traced to the biblical tradition of Gideon's call to battle against the Midianites<sup>210</sup>. The historical situation at the time of Walther's composing his poem was such that crusading

propaganda of this sort had become additional political ammunition in the conflict between Empire and Papacy<sup>211</sup>, but these imperial claims were based on a tradition as old as the Carolingian Empire. Walther may have been an opportunist in his loyalties to candidates for the imperial position<sup>212</sup>, but his representation of the imperial function and his opposition to papal interference<sup>213</sup> remained constant. Thus his support for Frederick II's ideas for a Crusade represents the Emperor as leader of all Christendom with responsibility for his actions only to God, and any interference is interference with God's will:

Der helt wil Kristes reise varn: swer in L. 29,18  
des irret,  
der hât wider got und al  
die kristenheit getân ...<sup>214</sup>.

The presentation of imperial ideology together with crusading elements is at its most complicated in the Rolandslied. Konrad constantly mixes epithets referring to Karl's secular duty as head of the Christian Empire and his religious duty as vicarius Christi, to the sacral nature of his kingship and his title of uoget von Rome, a complexity reflected in Konrad's use of the word riche<sup>215</sup>. Karl expands the Christian Empire geographically:

want er mit gote <sup>o</sup>über want RL 13  
uil manige heideniske lant,

and Konrad explains how Karl has:

die grimmigen heiden bedwungin, RL 20

(here, the religious mission is combined with military subjugation). Roland is sceptical of Marsilie's petitioning for peace, for he is afraid that the territory already won in battle will be lost:

so müge wir imir wole glagen: RL 925  
daz wir lange eruochten haben,  
daz uerwandelot sich in einer wile<sup>216</sup>.

And Blanscandiz quotes Roland's determination to make Karl the centre of a new order at Rome by his conquests:

"alle irdische krone RL 1848  
geweltige ich dir ze Rome.  
si müzen dine man werden,  
oder under diseme guten swerte ersterben<sup>217</sup>." 1850

Adalrot firmly accuses Roland of this expansionist attitude in Spain<sup>218</sup>, and the heathen emperor is also aware of Karl's political victories:

... "Karl mit sinem grawen parte RL 5208  
hat menigiu riche pedwungen,  
di al swarzen Unger, 5210  
Pulle unt Latran  
.....  
want er di chunen Sachsen bedwanc<sup>219</sup>. 5215

From the heathen standpoint, Marsilie can only see his own lands being usurped in this campaign:

"mich endunchet aue nicht recht RL 2260  
daz er min riche neme  
uñ iz einem andern gebe,  
uñ iz habe der mit gewalt."

and his object is to stop Karl's attempts to gain political sovereignty in Spain:

Karl nerichsenet hi nicht mere,<sup>220</sup> RL 5228

The heathen desire is thus the political freedom of their own individual empires:

si wolten ir riche RL 6714  
den sige haben errungen<sup>221</sup>; 6715

This heathen reaction to Christian attack, namely that Christian military activity against the heathen can only have an expansionist motive, is a common one in MHG literature. The arrival of the "goldsmiths" before the castle of the heathen Aron in the Münchener Oswald is interpreted by the heathen watchman as an attempt to take over heathen

territory:

"ez sint vremede geste  
komen vür die veste,  
von manigem werden man  
sint dir dīniu lant gewonnen an ... 222!"  
unde wellen dir dīn lant gewinnen an 2150

MOsw. 2149  
2150

In the first battle in the Rolandslied, the heathen are prepared to extend their political horizons and attack France and destroy Karl's seat in Paris and St. Denis<sup>223</sup>. The second battle extends the bounds even further to a claim to world supremacy by Baligan in which he intends to overpower not only Spain and France but also Rome, and to subject Karl to his authority:

chere durch Yspaniam!  
din swert scol dir nu dwingen  
die übermuten Karlinge.  
Paris scoltu storen,  
Ache zefüren;  
uerteile sine chrone!  
dar nach dwinc du Rome,  
da er an din urlöp ist an gesezzen!  
erne scolte trinchen noch ezzen  
wan also du in hiezest,  
unt ob du in in dinem riche liezest, 224  
dar umbe scolt er dinen unt nigen....

RL 7226  
7230  
7235

The constant aim of the heathen, therefore, is the political protection and expansion of their empire (Baligan demands the feudal subjugation of Karl<sup>225</sup>), and Marsilie cannot understand Karl's divine right to defend and expand imperial Christendom, by force if necessary:

wer hat Karle den gwalt über mich gegeben, RL 2228  
daz er so gewaltechliche  
uirbiutet mir min riche,  
unde sich under windet  
daz er die werlt alle dwingit  
daz si ime werde under tan?

2230

Karl's right lies in his God-ordained mission to subdue the heathen and to christianise them and to include them in the Empire:

wil er got eren,  
zu der cristinheit cheren,  
ich lihe ime halbe Yspaniam,  
wirdet er deme riche undertan,

RL 1506

This is the direct expression of the Carolingian dilatio imperii christiani, whereby integration into the Frankish Empire was as essential as baptism<sup>226</sup>. Even in treachery, the heathen (through the mouth of Genelun) recognise only the political side to Karl's demands:

dir enbutet Marssilie,  
ain chunc wise unt biderbe,  
sin dinist willicliche, ...  
zu diner herschephte  
habent si (alle di fürsten uon  
sinem riche) gesendet ir chint<sup>227</sup>,

RL 2863

2865

2868

The claim to Weltherrschaft of the heathen in Willehalm, as in the Rolandslied, presents a development in the heathen demands. The battles are being fought over Gyburg - out of revenge for rejected Minne, as Wolfram's epic pre-diction explains:

Arâbel, Gîburc, doch ein wîp  
zwir genant, minne und dîn lîp  
sich nû mit jâmer vlihtet.  
dû hâs zem schaden gepflihtet:  
dîn minne den touf versnîdet.  
stoufes wer ouch niht mîdet,  
si ensnîde, von den dû bist erborn: 228.  
der wirt ouch drumme vil verlorn ...

Wh. 30,21

30,25

But at the same time the battles are a conflict of two religions and the idea of bellum sacrum is applied to both sides by Wolfram<sup>229</sup>. The heathen are fighting to extend the sovereignty of their faith and for the honour of the heathen gods<sup>230</sup>. In addition, the heathen claim is to territorial expansion at the expense of the Roman Empire:

Oransche und Pârîs  
si zevüeren solden ... 231.

Wh. 339,30

340,1

Finally, Terramer's claim is to complete sovereignty not only over his own heathen kingdoms as al der heiden admirât

(Wh. 438,23; 457,21) but, basing his claim on his descent from Baligan in the Rolandslied (cf. RL 7626 ff.) and from Pompey, also to sovereignty over the Roman Empire:

... Lōis Rōmaere,	Wh. 338,19
dā ich billīcher waere	338,20
herre. ir hoeret michz lange klagen,	
mīn haupt solde roemesch krōne tragen,	
dar um mīn veter Bāligān	
verlōs manegen edelen man.	
ûf roemesch krōne spriche ich sus:	338,25
der edel Pompêjus,	
von des geslehte ich bin erborn,	
(ich enhān die vorderunge niht verlorn)	
der wart von roemescher krōne vertriben.	
zurehte ist manec kūnec beliben	338,30
dā sīt ûf mīnem erbe ..... <sup>232</sup> :	339,1

Wolfram summarises the end to Terramer's claims after the ultimate flight of the heathen forces from the battle field:

der admirāt Terramēr	Wh. 450,21
mit manegem rīchen kūnege hēr	
wolde bringen al die sprāche	
ûf den stuol hin zAche	
und dannen ze Rōme vūeren.	450,25

This mention of the 72 languages in the world is explained at the outset by Wolfram to present the powerful nature of the non-Christian peoples<sup>233</sup>, and finds a striking parallel in the powerful nature of the heathen leader Ymelot as leader of the heathen in König Rother:

.....ymelotin.	Roth. 3760
Der was ein heidin ureislich.	
Deme dientin tagelich.	
Zvene vnde sivenzit koninge	
Von woster babilonie.	

Ymelot, too, lays claim to universal sovereignty over all earthly kingdoms, as the poet comments after the heathen leader's attack on Constantine and Constantinople:

ymelot gerte sin zo man.	Roth. 2561
Her was ein heidin ureisam.	
Ime ne mochte nicht widir stan.	
Her wolde die riche alle han.	
Bedwungin mit grozir gewalt.	2565



Associated with imperial ideology in a crusading context is the idea of a mission, which, in the Rolandslied, is inextricably linked in the person of Karl with the idea of military subjugation<sup>234</sup>. The imperial duty of the medieval ruler to expand the bounds of Christendom is fused with the more popular idea of later crusading campaigns to destroy the heathen for their own sake or to impose conversion upon them forcibly. Karl has the mission to expand imperial Christendom, and the idea of forceful conversion wins the upper hand in the first battle at Roncevalles. In contrast, the second battle is governed by the motive of extermination and revenge - only the survivors are converted. In comparison with the Chanson de Roland, Konrad has placed Karl's mission at the outset of his poem, and the initiative is with Karl<sup>235</sup>. Thus the Archangel Gabriel informs Karl that:

daz lut wirdit bekeret; RL 58

and Karl repeats his aim to the 12 Peers:

Der keiser in do sagete RL 83  
daz er willen habete  
die haidenschaft zestoren, 85  
di cristin gemeren.

The divine mission, reminiscent of the New Testament<sup>236</sup>, is repeated throughout the first half of Konrad's work, in particular by St. Johannes<sup>237</sup>, but Konrad also includes as proviso the alternative more typical of the crusading propaganda of St. Bernard in 1147 - that is of death or conversion, of compelle intrare, an alternative originally permitted in Church dogma only for heretics and apostates. This idea of compelle intrare represents the most extreme form of the medieval Empire's mission to convert and conquer the heathen, and in so far as parallels are drawn between heathen and the Antichrist, is the ultimate stage of

this mission. Nevertheless, this extreme side to Bernard's appeal of 1147 does not dominate his thought, but he returns to the idea of peaceful conversion after the failure of the Second Crusade<sup>238</sup>. Konrad has Roland confirm the extreme alternative for the heathen:

toufent sich die haiden,	RL 3158
swiz min herre bescaidet,	
sone werdet si niemir uon mir gelaidet.	3160.
wellent si an got gelouben,	
sone scol si nimen rouben	
sunter frieden unte fristen	
sam unsere lieben eben cristen.	
unte belibent si haiden,	3165
ich gemache da uaigc .... <sup>239</sup> :	
ich gerite in so nahe,	
swelhes ich da gerame,	
daz erz niemir uber windet <sup>240</sup> .	

After the second battle - a battle no longer fought for conversion but for world supremacy on a material plane and extermination of evil on a spiritual plane (God's vengeance and condemnation of the heathen are here explicit<sup>241</sup>) - the aim of Karl's imperial mission is achieved with the baptism and integration into the Empire of the survivors:

Daz liut sich toufte unt bekerte <sup>242</sup> ,	RL 8631
also si got lerte.	
ir bistum si stiften,	
unt si sich ze gote richten.	

Karl has therefore achieved his divine mission to convert the heathen in Spain, and the souls of those heathen who refuse to be converted and oppose Karl are condemned by God to everlasting Hell<sup>243</sup>. Unlike his French source, Konrad has Karl ask for this mission from God, and he is the leader of this mission, although the existence of imperial feudalism presents some problems of prerogative when Karl asks for the advice of the 12 Peers<sup>244</sup>. The traditional indirect mission, whereby the heathen are first subdued militarily, and battle is to be purely "Wegbereiter

der friedlichen und gewaltlosen Predigt durch die Kirche"<sup>245</sup>, has been replaced in the Rolandslied by the more extreme form of forced conversion, whereby those who refuse conversion are put to the sword. It is perhaps significant that the two suggestions of peaceful attempts at conversion in the Rolandslied are at first ignored and secondly rebuked by Karl. Thus although Bishop Johannes maintains his desire to convert the heathen<sup>246</sup>, for him baptism must come first:

diu toufe ist daz aller herist,                      RL 1085  
daz solte sin daz aller erist,

Bishop Johannes' willingness for martyrdom while here attempting to convert the heathen peacefully is an apt example of the spiritual miles Christi, whose task is not that of physical battle<sup>247</sup>. Bishop Turpin, although he incorporates the active miles Christi and is in the foreground in physical battle - the example of the active man of God serving Christ in crusading military activity - also paradoxically retains something of the spiritual miles Christi, whose function is the peaceful conversion of the heathen<sup>248</sup>. This suggestion is rejected quite abruptly by Karl, and from then on the mission of conversion is undertaken with the sword.

The missionary aim of war against the heathen, the origin of which we have seen to have been the responsibility of the Emperor, itself based on the New Testament mission and manifested historically and in the representations of such activity in vernacular literature as a holy war in the service of the Empire, retained much of its original intention in MHG literature, despite the shift of emphasis given to it by the Crusades where the Church now addressed itself to the individual knight. The Kaiserchronik, as a chronicle von den

bābesen unt von den chunigen<sup>249</sup>, presents a comparatively constant picture of the imperial mission: the (historically unproved) co-operation of Pope Sixtus and Emperor Philippus in the mission of conversion, despite the failure of the latter's attempts at the hands of Decius<sup>250</sup>, presents the Emperor as an arm of the early Christian Church. The continued co-operation of Constantine and Silvester and the subsequent christianisation of Rome<sup>251</sup> end in a statement of the traditional imperial duty to expand Christendom:

jâ wil selbe mîn trehtîn  
sîn namen an im geêren,  
die christenhait gemêren. Kchr. 8325

The Kaiserchronik's presentation of Charlemagne's missionary activity fuses the peaceful and the indirect mission, and presents the Carolingian dilatio imperii which we have seen become one of the central motives of the Rolandslied<sup>252</sup>. The result of this imperial expansion was conversion:

sich touften alle die dâ wâren. Kchr. 14914

and even the result of the First Crusade is depicted as expansion of the Christian religion:

dô braite sich diu gotes lêre. Kchr. 16769

Nevertheless, the concept of forceful conversion is not completely strange to the author of the Kaiserchronik - the frequent use of twingen and derivatives for forceful conversion or forceful military subjugation of heathen lands by Christian Emperors<sup>253</sup>, especially associated with Charlemagne and subsequent Emperors, illustrates the common understanding of such imperial heathen wars. Henry I forcefully converted the Normans:

der chunich Hainrich was ze den Nort-  
mannen,  
die er mit michelem getwange  
der toufe getwanc. Kchr. 15790

and Henry II's missionary activity on the Eastern borders of the Christian Empire is also recorded in the historiography of the period<sup>254</sup>. Rejection of the Christian religion condemned the heathen to death, which they indeed at times preferred, as Cosdras' reply to Heraclius underlines:

"jâ negetuon ich niemer sô. Kchr. 11287  
 ich lîde ê von dir den tôt,  
 ê ich geloube an dînen got.  
 unt lâze die sâle ê iemer in der helle, 11290  
 ê ich mich in dem wazzer toufen welle".

St. Oswald, in the Munich manuscript, has received the mission to convert the heathen direct from God<sup>255</sup>, and despite the legendary motif of Brautwerbung common to the Spielmannsdichtung<sup>256</sup>, this mission is constantly reiterated throughout the work. In addition, the fact that Pamige is secretly Christian<sup>257</sup>, allows St. Oswald additionally to protect distressed Christians and to expand Christian sovereignty over heathen territory. Thus Oswald states his willingness to raise an army for Pamige's sake:

"wolte si kristengelouben hân, MOsw. 260  
 daz solte si mich wizzen lân,  
 sô braechte ich zesamene ein michel here 258.  
 unde vüere nâch ir über mere .....

The threat of enforced conversion or death after the two miracles emphasising the divine support for Oswald's purpose is used by Oswald to bring about the aim of his mission:

"sihest du heidscher man, MOsw. 3089  
 waz zeichens hât mîn got getân? 3090  
 noch solt du zuo der toufe gâhen  
 unde kristenlîchen gelouben empfâhen,  
 unde wilt du daz niht balde tuon,  
 sô hâst du weder vride noch suon:  
 iezuo mit dem swerte mîn 3095  
 slahe ich dir abe daz houbet dîn<sup>259</sup>!"

and, in the Vienna manuscript, the heathen king accepts baptism and extends the principle of conversion or death



"... wollent die heiden kristen werden, Or. 2864  
dar zu wil ich in helfen gerne." 2865  
do hiez er balde entspringen,  
die priester dar bringen,  
die gesegneten do die doufe  
mit dem waren godes glouben.  
do doufte man zware 2870  
alle die da waren:  
sie deten ez gerne oder ungerne,  
sie musten alle kristen werden ... 264.

This extreme convert or die ultimatum is repeated in the second half of the poem to the heathen Minolt<sup>265</sup>, and those who do not accept baptism are put to the sword:

sie slugent mangan heiden dot, Or. 3767  
die dem (heilgen) grabe nit wolten  
sin underdan,  
die musten den lip verloren han<sup>266</sup>.

This uncompromising attitude by Christian leaders towards the heathen after victory is common policy in crusading history<sup>267</sup>.

The missionary purpose attached to the imperial function as head of the Christian Empire is balanced on the heathen side by a missionary desire to extend the Moslem religion<sup>268</sup>. Thus the "heathen" population of Milan in the Kaiserchronik are described as having a missionary purpose in their attack on Rome:

... die von Mailân Kchr. 15863  
die cristen viengen,  
die haidenschaft mit in begiengen<sup>269</sup>. 15865

In the Münchener Oswald, the emphasis is on a religious difference and on the heathen desire to destroy the Christians:

dô quâmen die heiden an den stunden, MOsw. 2833  
dâ si die werden kristen vunden.  
dô die heiden die kristen ansâhen, 2835  
dô begunden si aber baz gâhen.  
si sprachen: "unde hete sîn diu werlt gesworen,  
sô müezen die kristen ir leben hân verloren!"

In Graf Rudolf, the heathen messengers are preparing for a defensive mission against the Christians:

"nu soldir boten senden	GR 5 b 13
in allen den enden	
da ir die helfe muget han.	15
wir suln die vroliche bestan,	
oder ich vor liese den lip.	
ez ist also gut inzit.	
alse wie langer biten,	
wir muzen doch mit in striten."	20

In this way, MHG poets impose a similar motivation for battles against the Christians on the heathen leaders in their poems.

4. MHG poets include in a crusading context much that belongs to the imperial holy war tradition in their representation of medieval Christendom and of the relationships between Christians and non-Christians. The representative of the bellum sacrum and of the missionary intentions in battle against the heathen is the Emperor; it is his duty to protect and expand the bounds of Christendom, a duty to which the sacral nature of kingship and his imperial oath bind him. Not only vernacular literature but also the historiography of the Empire regarded the figure of Charlemagne as the exemplary Emperor in this context, and Ottonian, Salian and Hohenstaufen Emperors saw themselves as descendants of Charlemagne in their function as head of Christendom<sup>270</sup>. The figure of Charlemagne is therefore also a common motif in MHG literature to emphasise the imperial moment of the bellum sacrum against the heathen. In Willehalm, Wolfram's references to Konrad's Rolandslied<sup>271</sup> create a direct relationship between the two poems, and underline the imperial context of the battles, although it is not Louis as Emperor who leads the Christian knights against Terramer and the combined might of the heathen empire, but Willehalm as his representative. The reflections



of imperial ideology cannot be restricted to an analysis of the parallel phraseology in MHG and medieval Latin, although the various references to Christian and heathen riche are illustrative of the poet's understanding of medieval Christendom. Rather, the responsibility to God of the Christian ruler for the christianisation or destruction of the heathen forces is expressed in different ways by the MHG poets and our analysis has also had to examine the thought content of the relevant poems in order to isolate vestiges of imperial ideology.

The influence of this imperial ideology remained strong on medieval political thought until the decline of the Empire after the death of Frederick II, although the propaganda of the Crusades introduced a shift in emphasis in the responsibility for the Christian mission from the Emperor to the individual knight. This transference of imperial characteristics to Western chivalry, representing a changing Church attitude to the rôle of the secular warrior during the period of the Reformed Papacy and finding its first direct expression in Urban II's appeal to the French knighthood, enabled the Church effectively to bypass imperial participation for some time. Church propaganda was soon obliged to enlist imperial aid, however, as the Papacy was not capable of leading such expeditions to the Holy Land, and concessions had to be made to the imperial position. While it is significant that the Crusade of Frederick II, undertaken while the Emperor was under the ban of excommunication<sup>272</sup>, was the only truly imperial Crusade and succeeded not by force of arms but by political bargaining, the conflict between papal and imperial aims during earlier

Crusades had led to disaster after disaster. Nevertheless, the influence of imperial ideology continued to be effective on medieval society at the same time as crusading propaganda was beginning to offer the individual secular knight the means to gain spiritual reward by personal involvement in God's cause. MHG crusading literature reflects this interaction of older and contemporary thought, in so far as much of its material refers to imperial campaigns against heathen opponents also carried out by exemplary crusading knights, as our later examination of redemptive chivalry will show. The principles of imperial Christendom and of the Emperor as protector of the Church and of Christian boundaries are retained, and yet the poets' didactic intentions in their poems and their affinity to the knightly profession bring about an idealising representation of the individual Christian knight and of his obligation to serve God directly in return for heavenly reward<sup>273</sup>. In this way, imperial material and crusading material are fused, especially in the imperial context of Konrad's Rolandslid and Wolfram's Willehalm; nevertheless, our study of those aspects constituting imperial ideology as reflected in the vernacular literature associated with the Crusades has shown that certain concepts associated with the crusading idea represent an adaptation of principles developing in association with a figure whose rôle as secular and spiritual head of Christendom was constantly called into question during the period of the Crusades. Thus, despite papal initiation of the Crusades and despite papal claims to the spiritual leadership of Christendom; the popular understanding of the crusading idea, as presented

and idealised by MHG poets for their public, saw in the figure of the Emperor the head of God's kingdom on this earth and the leader in campaigns against the heathen.

In the following chapters, an analysis of the interaction of feudal relationships and imperial ideology in a crusading context, and of the expiatory nature of the pilgrimage and its relationship to the crusading idea, presents two further fields of medieval society from which the crusading idea inherited concepts constituting its complex and contradictory nature.

Footnotes to Chapter 1

- 1 W. Baetke, Die Aufnahme des Christentums durch die Germanen, Darmstadt, 1959 (Die Welt als Geschichte, 9 (1943), pp. 143-166), p. 25.
- 2 Ibid., p. 49.
- 3 Cf. Heer, Aufgang Europas, pp. 107 ff.
- 4 W. Ullmann, A History of Political Thought: The Middle Ages, Harmondsworth, 1970, pp. 54 f.
- 5 Ibid., pp. 32 ff.
- 6 Ibid., pp. 69 ff.
- 7 Ibid., pp. 71 ff.; cf. also E. H. Kantorowicz, Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship (University of California Publications in History, Vol. 33), 1946, pp. 29 ff., who illustrates a change from the profane to the liturgical nature of these acclamations, which were originally associated with the king as a soldier but later became absorbed into divine service as a litany.
- 8 Ullmann, A History of Political Thought, pp. 64 ff. et passim; Kantorowicz, Laudes Regiae, pp. 56 ff.
- 9 Cf. A. Dempf, Sacrum Imperium, Geschichts- und Staatsphilosophie des Mittelalters und der politischen Renaissance, 4th ed., Darmstadt, 1973, p. 148; also the Pauline statement, I Cor. xv, 10.
- 10 Baetke, Die Aufnahme des Christentums, pp. 48 ff.; Kantorowicz, Laudes Regiae, pp. 56 ff.
- 11 Kantorowicz, Laudes Regiae, pp. 56 ff.
- 12 Dempf, Sacrum Imperium, p. 144.
- 13 Ullmann, A History of Political Thought, pp. 66 f.
- 14 Ibid., p. 67 et passim.
- 15 Cf. Mayer, Geschichte, pp. 53 ff.; S. Runciman, The Eastern Schism, A Study of the Papacy and the Eastern Churches during the 11th and 12th Centuries, Oxford, 1955, Reprinted London, 1970, pp. 97 ff.
- 16 Cf. Heer, Tragödie, p. 143.
- 17 Kantorowicz, Laudes Regiae, p. 63; Dempf, Sacrum Imperium, p. 146.
- 18 Dempf, Sacrum Imperium, p. 145
- 19 Ullmann, A History of Political Thought, p. 69.
- 20 Dempf, Sacrum Imperium, pp. 146 f.

- 21 Ullmann, A History of Political Thought, pp. 74 ff.
- 22 Ibid., pp. 77 ff.
- 23 Ibid., pp. 79 ff.; this view of society as ordained by God, where every man, woman, child, animal, plant, etc., had its appropriate position, was originally adopted from the Stoics by St. Augustine, and played an important rôle in the High Middle Ages with its strict class divisions and its feudal organisation; cf. Heer, Tragödie, pp. 136 ff.
- 24 Cf. pp. 80 ff.
- 25 Ullmann, A History of Political Thought, pp. 92 ff.
- 26 E. H. Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies, A Study in Medieval Political Theology, Princeton, 1957, pp. 61 ff., 77 ff.
- 27 Ullmann, A History of Political Thought, p. 94; cf. R. Schlierer, Weltherrschaftsgedanke und altdeutsches Kaisertum, Eine Untersuchung über die Bedeutung des Weltherrschaftsgedankens für die Staatsidee des deutschen Mittelalters vom 10. bis 12. Jahrhundert (Diss.), Tübingen, 1934, reprinted Darmstadt, 1968, pp. 2 ff., whose thesis is essentially negative, in so far as he attempts to refute any concept of universalism connected with the German Empire. His views do not generally seem to have convinced modern scholarship: cf. also R. Holtzmann, Der Weltherrschaftsgedanke des mittelalterlichen Kaisertums und die Souveränität der europäischen Staaten, Tübingen, 1953, reprinted Darmstadt, 1953, especially pp. 7 ff., 11 ff.
- 28 Ullmann, A History of Political Thought, p. 93; Dempf, Sacrum Imperium, p. 174.
- 29 Ullmann, A History of Political Thought, p. 95.
- 30 Ibid., p. 99.
- 31 Heer, Tragödie, pp. 142 ff.
- 32 Matth. xvi, 18-19; cf. Ullmann, A History of Political Thought, pp. 136 ff.; Heer, Aufgang, pp. 116 f.
- 33 Ullmann, A History of Political Thought, pp. 100 ff.
- 34 Heer, Tragödie, p. 146.
- 35 Ibid., pp. 145 ff.
- 36 Heer, Aufgang, p. 116.
- 37 Heer, Tragödie, pp. 145 ff. et passim.
- 38 Cf. Ullmann, A History of Political Thought, pp. 138 f.
- 39 Heer, Tragödie, pp. 153 ff.
- 40 Cf. Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 137 ff.

- 41 Cf. Villey, La Croisade, pp. 22 ff.; Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 1 ff.; Gen. ix, 6; Apoc. xiii, 10; Matth. xxvi, 52; John xviii, 36. Admittedly the Bible also contains sayings by Christ which seem to justify the use of violence: e. g. Matth. x, 34; Luke xxii, 36 ff., although biblical exegesis has usually seen such statements as metaphorical usages of warlike vocabulary. For the following, see also A. v. Harnack, Militia Christi, Die Christliche Religion in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten, Tübingen, 1905, reprinted Darmstadt, 1963, pp. 2 ff.
- 42 See also Hempel, Übermuot, pp. 53 ff. et passim; Green, Carolingian Lord, pp. 326 ff., et passim; Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 16 ff.
- 43 v. Harnack, Militia Christi, pp. 5 f.; Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 1 ff.; H. Beumann, "Kreuzzugsgedanke und Ostpolitik im hohen Mittelalter", HJb 72 (1953), pp. 112 ff., reprinted in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, pp. 121 ff.
- 44 Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 3 ff.; v. Harnack, Militia Christi, pp. 43 ff., 86 ff. et passim.
- 45 Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 5 ff.; Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, p. 1; Augustine, Quaestiones in Heptateuchum, VI, 10, quoted in Kreuzzugsdichtung, ed. Müller, pp. 1-2, section 2.
- 46 Quoted in Kreuzzugsdichtung, ed. Müller, p. 1, section 1.
- 47 Cf. Noth, Heiliger Krieg, pp. 93 ff. et passim, who also points to parallels in the Islamic ghihād.
- 48 For this and the following, see Kahl, in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, pp. 158 ff.
- 49 Cf. Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 8 f.
- 50 Kahl, art.cit.sup., p. 158, quotes MGH, Diplomata, Heinrich II, n.143, p. 170, ll.40 f., where the Diocese of Bamberg was instigated ut et paganismus Slavorum ibi destrueretur et Christiani nominis memoria perpetualiter inibi celebris haberetur, and he points to the sharp delineation given to both by the et...et construction.
- 51 Fränkisches Taufgelöbniß, in Kleines Althochdeutsches Lesebuch, ed. W. Burkhard, Berne, 1946 (Altdeutsche Übungstexte, Vol. 2), p. 18.
- 52 Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 10 f.
- 53 Ibid., pp. 16 ff.; Hempel, Übermuot, pp. 53 ff. et passim.
- 54 Villey, La Croisade, pp. 42 ff.
- 55 Ibid., pp. 44 ff.
- 56 Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 19

- 57 Ibid.; Beumann, in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, p. 123; see also p. 43.
- 58 Beumann, in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, pp. 122 f.
- 59 Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 6; Beumann, loc.cit. In this respect the OHG Ludwigslied presents a good example of how Louis III of the West Franks is alone held responsible for the protection of the Empire against the Normans - his warriors have no direct responsibility here; cf. Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 20 f. This idea is important for parallels with Karl's mission in the Rolandslied and will be referred to in more detail on pp. 91 ff. and 108 ff.
- 60 Beumann, loc.cit.
- 61 Cf. Einhard, Vita Karoli Magni, eds. G. H. Pertz & G. Waitz, 6th ed. by O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS rer. Germ. (Separatim editi - Vol. 23), Hanover and Leipzig, 1911, Chapters 7-8, pp. 9 ff.
- 62 Ibid., p. 10 et passim; cf. Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 20.
- 63 Kahl, in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, p. 161; Villey, La Croisade, pp. 31 ff.
- 64 Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 14; Villey, La Croisade, pp. 30 f.
- 65 MGH Ep. VI, 659; cf. Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 86, note 2.
- 66 Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 86 ff.
- 67 Cf. pp. 68 f.
- 68 Cf. M. Bünding-Naujoks, "Das Imperium christianum und die deutschen Ostkriege vom 10. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert", Historische Studien 366, Berlin, 1940, pp. 7-60, reprinted in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, pp. 65-120, especially pp. 68 f. Also H. Hirsch, "Der mittelalterliche Kaisergedanke in den liturgischen Gebeten", MIÖG 44 (1930), pp. 1-20, also reprinted in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, pp. 22-46.
- 69 Villey, La Croisade, pp. 46 ff.
- 70 Ibid., pp. 47 ff.
- 71 The beginnings of redemptive chivalry can be seen here: See below, Chapter 2 - Feudal Society, and Chapter 4 - Redemptive Chivalry.
- 72 Villey, La Croisade, pp. 45 f.
- 73 Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 107 ff. et passim; Beumann, in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, pp. 124 ff.
- 74 MPL 115,657A; cf. also Pope John VIII in a letter to the bishops in Louis the German's East Frankish Empire: ... hi qui pro defensione sanctae Dei Ecclesiae et pro statu Christianae religionis ac reipublicae in bello nuper

ceciderunt, aut de reliquo pro ea re casuri sunt, indulgentiam possint consequi delictorum, ... - MPL 126,816B f.; cf. Villey, La Croisade, p. 29.

- 75 Bünding-Naujoks, in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, pp. 70 f.
- 76 Ibid., pp. 74 f.; Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 95.
- 77 Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 93.
- 78 Cf. Bruno of Querfurt's condemnation of Otto II and Henry II, Bünding-Naujoks, in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, p. 75, note 8.
- 79 Luke xiv, 23 - admittedly used in a parable; Beumann, in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, p. 127; Bünding-Naujoks, art.cit.sup., pp. 73 ff.
- 80 Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 97.
- 81 Ibid., Beumann, in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, p. 127.
- 82 Kahl, in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, especially pp. 210 ff.
- 83 Ibid., p. 211.
- 84 Ibid., pp. 220 ff. Kahl even refers to the "Kollektivschuld" of the heathen tribes for the desecration of Christian holy places (p. 223).
- 85 Kahl, in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, pp. 164 ff.; Bünding-Naujoks, tom.cit., pp. 87 ff.; Beumann, tom.cit., pp. 129 ff., emphasises also the punitive character of this appeal and draws parallels with Bruno of Querfurt.
- 86 Kahl, in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, pp. 164 ff.
- 87 Mayer, Geschichte, pp. 102 ff.
- 88 Ep. 457, MPL 182, 651C.
- 89 Ibid., 652A; cf. Bünding-Naujoks, in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, p. 97.
- 90 Ibid., 651C and 652A.
- 91 Cf. Boček, Codex diplomaticus Moraviae, I., pp. 244 f.
- 92 For this and the following, see Beumann, in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, pp. 140 ff.; Bünding-Naujoks, tom.cit., p. 100, sees the only difference in the sign of the Cross for the expedition against the Slavs, where the warriors were to wear a Cross on a circle, which she interprets as "... Symbol der Ausbreitung des Christentums auf der ganzen Erde", i. e. the imperial Weltherrschaftsgedanke in a slightly modified form.



- 93 Quoted by Bünding-Naujoks, see note 92, above.
- 94 The opinions of commentators vary a good deal, but they all agree that St. Bernard's powers of persuasion must have been very considerable, cf. Wollschläger, Die bewaffneten Wallfahrten, pp. 52 ff. et passim.
- 95 H.-D. Kahl, "Zum Ergebnis des Wendenkreuzzugs von 1147, Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des sächsischen Frühchristentums", WiJb 11/12 (1957/58), pp. 99-120, reprinted in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, pp. 275 ff., quotation on p. 288. Kahl not only draws parallels with vernacular literature, but also points out the older more secular warrior motives which the crusading idea could not completely suppress in those knights taking part in the campaign against the Wends, concluding that on this personal level the expedition was not such a farce as generally believed.
- 96 Cf. Eugene III's bull, in ibid., p. 285, note 36.
- 97 Cf. also Chapter 5 below. The earthly Jerusalem and the Holy Land as Christ's heritage to man fuse in papal epistolography, in crusading propaganda and in the vernacular literature with the idea of heavenly Jerusalem as the reward for service of God, so that the two images are often inseparable.
- 98 MPL 148, 385 D.
- 99 Quoted in Hirsch, in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, p. 25.
- 100 W. Holtzmann, "Zur Geschichte Friedrich Barbarossas", NA 48 (1930), p. 412; cf. the title Romanorum imperator semper augustus et hostium imperii triumphator in a letter of 1188 from Barbarossa to Saladin, Boček, Codex Diplomaticus Moraviae, I, p. 326.
- 101 For this and the following, see the historical sources and parallels with the Kaiserchronik, analysed in Nellmann, Die Reichsidee, pp. 120 f., and notes 134 ff.; cf. also pp. 100 ff.
- 102 Hirsch, in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, p. 25; cf. Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, p. 4; also C. Erdmann, "Der Heidenkrieg in der Liturgie und die Kaiserkrönung Ottos I", MIÖG 46 (1932), pp. 129-42, reprinted in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, pp. 47 ff.
- 103 Otto of Freising, Chronik, oder die Geschichte der zwei Staaten, transl. by A. Schmidt, ed. W. Lammers, Berlin, 1960 (Parallelausgabe - Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, 16) p. 504, 4-12 (VII,3). Otto further explained his reference to the Constantinian Donation with the words:  
 ... dans caput omnium in tantum Romanam exaltavit ecclesiam, ut beato Silvestro eiusdem urbis pontifici insignibus regni traditis ... (Otto of Freising, Chronik, p. 306, 1-2 (IV,3)).

- 104 RHC IV, 550C.
- 105 RHC IV, 606A.
- 106 Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum, ed. R. Hill, (text and translation), London, 1962, p. 52 (IX,xxi).
- 107 Hugo and Gerard Munio, Historia Compostellana, Book II, Chapter 78 in MPL 170,1134A.
- 108 Holtzmann, NA 48 (1930), p. 413; cf. also the imperial oath below, note 178.
- 109 Cf. Noth, Heiliger Krieg, pp. 20 ff. et passim.
- 110 RHC IV, 390F - 391A.
- 111 RHC IV, 484E.
- 112 For this and the following, see the translation of Arab chroniclers, Die Kreuzzüge aus arabischer Sicht, selected and translated from the Arab sources by F. Gabrieli, German translation by B. v. Kaltenborn-Stachau, new ed. Munich, 1975. This quotation is on p. 199 and note 178, from Imād ad-Dīn.
- 113 Ibid., p. 161, from Ibn al-Atir; Saladin calls all heathen to a holy war against the Infidel.
- 114 Ibid., p. 145 from Bahā' ad-Dīn.
- 115 Ibid., p. 41. The Reconquista in Spain and the First Crusade as seen by Ibn al-Atir.
- 116 Noth, Heiliger Krieg, pp. 147 f., points to these parallels and to the need for a further analysis of the concept of heiliger Kampf in Christian and Moslem ideology and historiography of the Crusades.
- 117 Cf. Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 321 ff. Although the First Crusade was seen as a defensive campaign, the formula exaltare, dilatare christianitatem was common with Eugene III, Hadrian IV, etc. (cf. Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 44 f., who draws parallels with RL 85 f.).
- 118 Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 149 ff. and MPL 148,329C.
- 119 This aspect of the crusading idea will be treated more extensively in Part III, below; Cutler, Muslim World 58 (1968), pp. 57-71 and 155-64, refers especially to Peter the Hermit's attempt to convert Kerboqa, to the successful conversion of Ahmad b. Marwan after his surrendering of the citadel at Antioch, and to the baptisals after the siege of Arqa.
- 120 Gesta Francorum, p. 71 (IX, xxix).
- 121 Ekkehard of Aura's chronicle, MGH SS VI, 217,32-5.
- 122 RHC IV, 469A f.

- 123 Odo of Deuil, De Profectione Ludovici VII in orientem, ed. and transl. V. G. Berry, New York, 1948 (Records of Civilisation - Sources and Studies, 42) p. 10.
- 124 Gesta Francorum, p. 44 (VIII,xx).
- 125 Cf. Gesta Francorum, p. 73 (X,xxx).
- 126 For the following, see Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 276 ff.
- 127 Ibid.
- 128 Gesta Francorum, p. 2 (I,ii).
- 129 MGH SS VI, 215,2 f.
- 130 H. Appelt, "Die Kaiseridee Friedrich Barbarossas", SB der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 252 (1967), Abh. 4, p. 27.
- 131 RL 11, and in this prologue by Konrad, now generally regarded as his own addition (cf. Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 17 ff.), Karl, the earthly Emperor, is juxtaposed to Christ (RL 2) as the heavenly Emperor. The typological presentation of Karl in the later text is here prepared. Similarly, it is clear that Konrad's intention is to present an epic of Karl, not of Roland: cf. Richter, Kommentar, I, p. 19.
- 132 RL 960; 973. Cf. also Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 206 f., for additional references, The tracing of such words and phrases is a time-consuming process, which the use of indices can facilitate considerably. I acknowledge my debt here to the following: W. F. Tulasiewicz, Index Verborum zur deutschen Kaiserchronik, Berlin (Ost), 1972 (Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, Vol. 68); Collected Indexes to the Works of Wolfram von Eschenbach, ed. R.-M. S. Heffner, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1961; R. A. Wisbey, A Complete Concordance to the Rolandslied, Leeds, 1969 (Compendia, Vol. 3); R.-M. S. Heffner and K. Petersen, A Word-Index to Des Minnesangs Frühling, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1942; R.-M. S. Heffner and W. P. Lehmann, A Word-Index to the Poems of Walther von der Vogelweide, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1950.
- 133 Kchr. 8489; 11267; 14358; 15868 f.; cf. Tulasiewicz, Index Verborum, p. 338, also Nellmann, Die Reichsidee, p. 121.
- 134 The Pope is here also seen to have all spiritual power (Kchr. 8422 f.), and the anointing and coronation of Constantine by the Pope (Kchr. 8119-8128) illustrates the practice of the Middle Ages and also the justification for papal claims to supremacy over the whole of Christendom. The above-mentioned quotations are perhaps also a reflection by the poet of the Kaiserchronik on the principle of royal dualism; but cf. Nellmann, Die Reichsidee, pp. 95 ff. The role of Constantine as enemy of the heathen - a motif common to many depictions of the Emperor in MHG - is also explicit in Kchr. 8050-4.

- 135 Wh. 357,21; cf. also 103,13; 283,25; 284,9; etc.
- 136 Cf. RL 2010; Wh. 421,8 f. Also H. Richter, "Das Hoflager Kaiser Karls, Zur Karlsdarstellung im deutschen Rolandslied", ZfdA 102 (1973), pp. 81 ff.
- 137 Nellmann, Die Reichsidee, p. 121.
- 138 Kchr. 14413 ff. Richter, Kommentar, I, p. 206, quotes the parallels to the Rolandslied.
- 139 Cf. Kantorowicz, Laudes Regiae, pp. 62 f.; also Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 206 f., and note 343. It is possible to see in the Rolandslied an extended view of the concept of ecclesia, where this becomes equal to the Christian Empire and the Augustinian civitas Dei. Cf. also G. Fliegner, Geistliches und weltliches Rittertum im Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad (Diss.), Breslau, 1937, p. 43.
- 140 RL 7626 ff. Cf. Nellmann, Die Reichsidee, pp. 171, and pp. 94 f.
- 141 RL 29-64.
- 142 Cf. Nellmann, Die Reichsidee, pp. 173 f.
- 143 Fliegner, Geistliches und weltliches Rittertum, pp. 2 f.
- 144 Cf. ChdR 109; 116, etc.
- 145 Cf. ChdR 447.
- 146 Cf. the references to Franks and Frankish in Wisbey, Concordance, p. 138. Richter, Kommentar, I, p. 18 et passim, ignores all references to Franks and Karlings.
- 147 H. Backes, "Dulce France - suoze Karlinge", PBB (T) 90 (1968), pp. 23-42, especially pp. 35 ff.
- 148 Ibid., pp. 36 ff.; Karl is nevertheless still their undisputed leader and bears the responsibility for this battle of revenge, a responsibility he has gained from God. Imperial ideology is thus fused with the idea of redemptive chivalry more appropriate to crusading ideology. The idea of a mission, which is strong at the outset, also recedes in the second battle before a more uncompromising attitude to the heathen, who are now seen as evil to be exterminated, cf. RL 8199-8214, etc.
- 149 Aliscans (Al.), eds. E. Wienbeck, W. Hartnacke, P. Rasch, Halle, 1903; cf. Mergell, Wolfram und seine franz. Quellen, I, pp. 2 ff.; Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 11 ff.
- 150 Mergell, Wolfram und seine französischen Quellen, I, p. 14.
- 151 For this and the following, see Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 126 ff.
- 152 Cf. Wh. 21, 24-7, etc.

- 153 Bumke, Wolfram von Eschenbach, pp. 87 f.
- 154 Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 128 ff.
- 155 Wh. 15,27
- 156 Wh. 126,8-15.
- 157 Cf. Wh. 350,7.
- 158 Wh. 284,9; 325,29; etc. Cf. de Boor, Geschichte der dt. Literatur. II, p. 116. For the references to the Roman aspect of the Emperor, Empire and Christians, see Collected Indexes to the Works of Wolfram von Eschenbach, p. 253.
- 159 Wh. 210,1; 222,9; 304,15.
- 160 Wh. 338,19.
- 161 e. g. Wh. 156,10; 306,18; 396,24; 437,27.
- 162 Cf. Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 126 ff.; Willehalm is not only vicarius imperatoris in the second battle, he is also supported by his own relatives who have placed their armies at his disposal out of ties of personal obligation, thus illustrating the religious theme of kinship also emphasised by Wolfram in Parzival (cf. Parz. 317,20 ff.; 740,2 ff.; 746,1 ff.; etc.). Wolfram summarises the three-fold motivation for Willehalm's relatives of religion, Minne and personal blood-ties in Wh. 381,21 f.; for feudal relationships, see Chapter 4 below; for the rewards of Minne as motivating force for Christian and heathen alike, see Chapters 5 and 6 below.
- 163 RL 7153 f.
- 164 RL 7152; 7166 f.; 7305 f.
- 165 Cf. Wh. 96,9; 413,3; 432,16; 433,8; 436,1; 437,26; 438,23; 439,21; 441,2; 441,22; 466,26 ff.; etc.
- 166 Parz. 13,16 - 14,2; cf. the historical parallel, note 103 above.
- 167 Cf. below, Chapter 6.
- 168 Cf. RL 7317 f.; 7654 f.; Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 206 ff.; Nellmann, Die Reichsidee, p. 176, points out that these Christian kings are, of course, members of the Christian Empire.
- 169 Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 202 ff., points to the typological allegory of Karl in RL 941 ff. with purified gold; cf. also the biblical parallels in Backes, Bibel und Ars Praedicandi, p. 144.
- 170 Cf. Das Rolandslied, ed. K. Bartsch, Leipzig, 1874 (Deutsche Dichtungen des Mittelalters, 3), p. 54; Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 233 ff.; gruntveste der christenheit is the title also given to St. Peter in Kchr. 2465. Interesting for the

development of this epithet and the transference of imperial characteristics to nobility and knights in general is the use by Asprian in König Rother of the phrase gruntueste allir trowe for Count Luppolt (Roth. 4198).

- 171 RL 6161-4; 7931-3; cf. also Turpin's last prayer to God, RL 6636 f. This aid is granted in RL 8563-9 to Karl and his followers, because this is God's mission in which they are his executive arm.
- 172 Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, p. 193, note 59, sees a reflection of Wolfram's attitude towards the weak successor to Charlemagne in the fact that he has not Germanised Louis' name - "Wolfram hat im Willehalm sämtliche germanischen Namen der Quelle verdeutscht, mit Ausnahme eines einzigen, dem des Königs Loys. Ohne Zweifel wußte er, daß Lôys auf deutsch Ludwig hieß ... Sollte es ihm unangenehm gewesen sein, dem höfisch verweichlichten und verantwortungslosen Loys denselben Namen zu geben, den sein Herr und Auftraggeber trug: Ludwig?" Also quoted by Kartschoke, Willehalm - Urtext und Übersetzung, p. 284, note 103,13.
- 173 Cf. RL 7317 f., and above, note 168.
- 174 Wh. 13,6; Bumke, Wolfram von Eschenbach, p. 88.
- 175 Cf. Wh. 91,27-30; 146,4-8.
- 176 This tone is reminiscent of RL 1848 f. - where Roland also declares his determination to support Karl's claim to Roman Emperorhip.
- 177 Wh. 179,6; for the following, see Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 130 ff.
- 178 Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, p. 132, note 99, quotes from E. Eichmann, Die Kaiserkrönung im Abendland, Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, Vol. II, Würzburg, 1942, p. 165, an example of such an imperial oath (Kaiserordo B - Cencius I):  

In nomine Christi promitto, spondeo atque polliceor  
 ego N. imperator coram Deo et beato Petro me  
 protectorem ac defensorem esse huius sanctae Romanae  
 ecclesiae in omnibus utilitatibus, inquantum divino  
 fultus fuero adiutorio secundum scire meum ac posse.

 Cf. Wh. 182,20-3.
- 179 Cf. Wh. 129,20-7.
- 180 Wh. 299,27; cf. Bumke, Ritterbegriff, pp. 114 f., and Chapter 5 below.
- 181 Wh. 181,1-6
- 182 Cf. Willehalm's words in Wh. 177,25 - 178,4.
- 183 Wh. 181,7-22.
- 184 Wh. 181,23-5.

- 185 Wh. 179,21-30.
- 186 Wh. 224,23; 297,11; cf. Bumke, Wolfram von Eschenbach, p. 88.
- 187 Cf. Wh. 185,1-10; 199,18-23; 225,15-17; 274,21-23; 297,6-11; etc.
- 188 Notably the imperial banner (Wh. 332,22 f.) and the taking of the Cross from priests who are mentioned for the first and last time (Wh. 304,22-5); cf. Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 140 f.
- 189 Wh. 211,20-2. This transference of imperial power and responsibility to protect Christendom from Emperor to nobility and eventually to the knighthood is one of the most important developments in the crusading idea; see below, Chapter 4. Nevertheless, Terramer still presumes Louis to be leader of the imperial army (Wh. 336,14; 337,16-19; 367,13-20) and constant reference to daz rîche maintains the true imperial moment in this battle (e. g. Wh. 197,15; 424,21-5; etc.).
- 190 Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 141 f.; cf. Chapter 6 below.
- 191 See pp. 106 ff.
- 192 Kchr. 11142, 11267, etc.
- 193 Cf. Ohly, Sage und Legende in der Kaiserchronik, p. 183.
- 194 Das Ludwigslied, No. XXIII in Kleines Althochdeutsches Lesebuch, pp. 53 f.
- 195 Ibid., p. 53, l.4; de Boor, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, I, p. 87, sees a Germanic survival in this relationship.
- 196 For the following, see Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 20 f.; de Boor, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, I, p. 87.
- 197 Ludwigslied, l.36.
- 198 Ibid., l.47.
- 199 Ibid., ll.40 f.; cf. also note 74, above.
- 200 Cf. Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 51 ff. We can here recognise the Gregorian spirit of the Kaiserchronik, in which the poet represents the unity of the earthly civitas Dei and sees the defence of this political complex as the duty of the Emperor. Cf. also Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 60 ff.
- 201 Cf. Kchr. 15361-3; 16927-9.
- 202 Cf. Kchr. 15536-47; 17178-80.
- 203 In contrast, the poet of the Kaiserchronik emphasises the rôle of Godfrey of Bouillon during the First Crusade (Kchr. 16618 ff.). The Emperor, Henry IV, was at the time of this campaign still under the ban of excommunication by

Gregory VII and in direct conflict with Urban II, so that the poet could not see in him the protector of Christendom.

- 204 De Boor, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, I, p. 252, sees the picture of Salman in the poem as a more secular representation of the figure of Solomon; in MHG literature, Solomon is otherwise a typological figure, e. g. the representation of Karl's court in the Rolandslied (RL 671 ff. - cf. also Richter, ZfdA 102 (1973), pp. 83 f., and Kommen-  
tar, I, pp. 140 ff.), and although de Boor sees Salman as "Vorläufer des christlichen Königtums, das die Kreuzzüge zu schaffen suchte ...", as a character he is overshadowed completely in the poem by Morolf. The idea of the mission is here also less emphasised than the relationship between heathen and Christian on the level of wit and cunning.
- 205 SuM. 363,4 f.; 417,4; 447,4; 463,5; etc.
- 206 e. g. Roth. 2665-71.
- 207 Cf. RL 974 f. and 7654 f.; Wh. 434,6-15.
- 208 Cf. Böhmer, Untersuchungen, p. 32.
- 209       du muost in die heidenschaft kēren       Mosw. 67  
          unde kristenlichen gelouben mēren.
- 210 Judges vi, 11 ff. Cf. the references to Gideon in the Rolandslied: RL 2505; 3424; 5013-20; 5764; 7883; 8422-4; and note 169, above; cf. also U. Müller, "Zu Walther 'Her keiser, ich bin fronebote'", ZfdPh 90 (1971), Sonderheft, pp. 133-6, especially pp. 134 f. Müller's analysis of the function of fronebote would seem to merit deeper treatment in MHG literature as a whole, for here a fundamental aspect to the relationship between medieval ruler and warrior and God is revealed.
- 211 Cf. Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 234 ff.
- 212 Cf. Walther von der Vogelweide, Gedichte, mittelhochdeut-  
scher Text und Übertragung, ed. P. Wapnewski, Frankfurt  
and Hamburg, 1970, Nachwort, pp. 288 f.
- 213 Cf. L. 11,6 ff.; L. 34,4 ff. and 34,14 ff., etc.
- 214 Maurer (Die Lieder Walthers von der Vogelweide, ed. Fr. Maurer, Vol. I, Die religiösen und die politischen Lieder, Tübingen, 1967 (ATB, Vol. 43), p. 77) regards this verse as not genuine.
- 215 Cf. Wellmann, Die Reichsidee, pp. 167 ff.; E. F. Ohly, "Zum Reichsgedanken des deutschen Rolandsliedes", ZfdA 77 (1940), pp. 189-217; A. Zastrau, Das deutsche Rolandslied als nationales Problem, Potsdam, 1937, pp. 71 ff.
- 216 Cf. RL 922.
- 217 Cf. RL 1841 and Bartsch's comments in his edition, pp. 77 f. - "... der Apfel ist also Symbol des Erdrundes aufzufassen, zu dessen Herrscher Roland Karl machen will." The same motif



is present in the Chanson - ChdR. 386. Richter, Kommentar, I, p. 267, also sees this as "Symbol der christlichen Welt-herrschaft", and although Nellmann, Die Reichsidee, p. 171, maintains that references to world supremacy by Karl are only to be found in repetitions by the heathen, he fails to take RL 6830-57 into consideration.

- 218 RL 4040-2, also RL 1770-80, which is also present in a more restricted form in the Chanson - ChdR. 371-3; Richter, Kommentar, I, p. 263.
- 219 Cf. RL 5718-23; 6705-8.
- 220 Cf. RL 5308; Baligan takes up the same theme in RL 7396.
- 221 Blanscandiz prays to Mahomet and Apollo for the same purpose in RL 2003 f. Significant here too is the use of ir riche, whereas in Christian use daz riche predominates; cf. Wisbey, Concordance, pp. 317 f.; Nellmann, Die Reichsidee, pp. 167 f.
- 222 Cf. MOsw. 2168-71.
- 223 Cf. RL 3738 ff.; 3748 ff.; 5702 ff.; etc.
- 224 Cf. RL 7301-4; 7628-31; 7634-6; 7643 f.; 8009 f.; 8088-90; 8466-8; 8475 ff.; etc.
- 225 RL 7634; cf. Nellmann, Die Reichsidee, p. 171 and also the similar desire by Maximian in Kchr. 6558 f., and by Desiderius in Kchr. 14841-3.
- 226 See pp. 75 f. and note 62 above; cf. also the refusal by the Saxons to submit to Charlemagne in Kchr. 14864 f.
- 227 Cf. RL 2875 ff.
- 228 Cf. Wh. 4,25-29; 39,12-20; 51,20-22; 52,22-25; 97,3-5; 185,30; 314,8-11; 215,22-25; 260,17-22; 306,1; 310,17-19; 336,4-6; 350,8 f.; 351,1 f.; 367,1-8; 369,6-9; etc.
- 229 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 252 ff.
- 230 Wh. 9,8-16; cf. Wh. 17,3-7; 19-22, in Willehalm's Kreuz-rede, where the heathen religious motives are used as propaganda, as was common practice in crusading sermons, etc.
- 231 Cf. Wh. 96,9-11.
- 232 Cf. Wh. 340,4 f.; 396,22-30; Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, p. 133, note 107, sees Wolfram's inspiration for Terramer's claim for descent from Pompey in the Annolied, which would make the second battle at Alischanz a continuation of the greatest battle in history between Caesar and Pompey.
- 233 Cf. Wh. 73,7-14 and 450,19 f.; Kartschoke, Willehalm, Ur-text und Übersetzung, p. 282, note to 73,8. Also WOsw. 42; 47-9; and Or. 406 ff.

- 234 For the following, see Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 31 ff.
- 235 Cf. ChdR. 3991-8 and RL 55-64; ChdR. 3999-4001 and RL 37-51. Richter, Kommentar, I, p. 32.
- 236 Mark, xvi, 15 f. Also quoted in Richter, Kommentar, I, p. 32.
- 237 RL 1055 ff.; cf. also RL 1040 f.; 1533; 2025-29; etc.
- 238 De Consideratione III, MPL 182, 757B ff., and Chapter 6, below.
- 239 The use of the word uaige and its variants in Rolandslied (16 instances in its various forms and inflections, cf. Wisbey, Concordance, p. 389), is applied predominantly to the heathen, and although it here has little of the Germanic flavour of predestination (as Fliegner, Geistliches und weltliches Rittersium, pp. 23 ff., presents it), Konrad is by no means consistent in his usage. Nevertheless, the connection of the term with condemnation of the heathen by God is clearly present at times, e. g. RL 3876-9. Nöther, Die geistlichen Grundgedanken, pp. 77-80 and note 2, p. 77, confuses the usage, especially in RL 3240.
- 240 Cf. RL 1037-41; 2039-43; 2912-16; etc.
- 241 Cf. RL 7699-7701 - the biblical parallel to Psalms xxxiii, 22, is clear; 7715 ff., etc.
- 242 In direct parallel to RL 58.
- 243 RL 58-64.
- 244 Thus Karl accepts the advice of the Franks against his own judgement in appointing Roland to the leadership of the Christian rearguard in RL 2965-83.
- 245 In the sense of Gregory the Great; Kahl, in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, pp. 190 f.
- 246 Cf. RL 1061-4.
- 247 Richter, Kommentar, I, p. 226 ff.
- 248 RL 1334-43; Richter, Kommentar, I, p. 238, points out that this is an addition by Konrad.
- 249 Kchr. 19
- 250 Kchr. 6105 ff.
- 251 Kchr. 7980 ff.
- 252 See pp. 103 ff.; cf. also Kchr. 14822-6; 14874 f. - here Charlemagne's mission is completed by the clergy; 14877 f; 14909 f.; 15073 f.; and for later Emperors Kchr. 15528-30; 16178 f.; etc.
- 253 Cf. Tulasiewicz, Index Verborum, pp. 27, 118, 307.

- 254 Cf. Kchr. 16169-72 and Ekkehard's chronicle (MGH SS VI, 192, 26):  
 Italiam et Boemiam cum omni gente Sclavorum  
 subiugasset.
- 255 See above, note 209.
- 256 Schröder, Spielmannsepik, pp. 55, 60 f.; Curschmann, DVjS 40 (1968), pp. 445 f.; de Boor, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, I, p. 255.
- 257 Schröder, Spielmannsepik, p. 61.
- 258 This motif is constantly repeated: MOsw. 319-25; 593-7; 1096-1100; 1525; 1527-33; even the heathen Warmunt is aware of this secret belief of Pamige: MOsw. 239-49.
- 259 I cannot accept the statement by Kaplowitt, Influences and Reflections, I, pp. 71 ff., who fails to see any true religious antagonism in this conversion scene.
- 260 Cf. WOsw. 1444-53.
- 261 Cf. Or. 19 f.
- 262 Kaplowitt, Influences and Reflections, I, pp. 78 ff., cannot decide whether there is real anti-heathen sentiment here or not. On the one hand he regards the portrayal of the clashes as "routine" (p. 79) and on the other hand he maintains that it is "possible that the anti-Moslem sentiments in the poem reflect the feelings in the West after the loss of the sacred places in the Holy Land" (p. 88).
- 263 Or. 2788-95.
- 264 The same is true of the baptism of the heathen at Trier in an almost word-for-word repetition, cf. Or. 2157-60 and 3160-9.
- 265 Cf. Or. 3774-7.
- 266 Cf. Or. 3903-5. The heathen king prefers death to baptism in Or. 3779-83.
- 267 Cf. Chapter 6, below.
- 268 I intend to return to this aspect in more detail in Chapter 6 below, and for the present the following few references will suffice.
- 269 Cf. note 2, p. 368, in Schröder's edition: Für die gedankenlosigkeit des chronisten ist nichts bezeichnender, als dass er hier die Mailänder als heiden hinstellt, von den heidnischen Ungarn aber kurz vorher zu sagen scheint: gote si lop sungen (Kchr. 15825). Cf. also RL 419; 2587-90; 3724; 3840-4; 3911 f.; 4694-6; etc.
- 270 Cf. Appelt, SB der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 252 (1967), Abh. 4, pp. 1 ff.

- 271 Cf. the references to Karl and Baligan in Collected Indexes to the Works of Wolfram von Eschenbach, pp. 184 and 233.
- 272 Mayer, Geschichte, p. 209.
- 273 Cf. Müller, FS Wolfgang Mohr, p. 267; in particular, for the rise of redemptive chivalry and its reflection in MEG literature, see Chapter 4 below.

## Chapter 2: Feudal Society and the Crusade

Imperial ideology and the rôle of the Emperor in relationships with non-Christians retained a central position in the political and religious thought of Western Europe throughout the period of the Crusades, but at the same time a system of social relationships had evolved before the First Crusade which had far-reaching effects on the ordering of medieval society, influenced the Church's attitude to secular knighthood, and was of importance for the warrior's relationship to God. This feudal system of social relationships, with its complicated historical development reflected in the vocabulary and phraseology for the duties and advantages which it entailed, was, as one of the fundamental aspects of medieval social, religious and political life, influential in the formation of the historical crusading idea and can also be traced in the representation of this idea in vernacular literature. In the following chapter, an analysis of the historical development of this feudal system of social relationships, both in its application to imperial government and at a lower social level between nobility and knighthood, presents the essential background for our examination of feudal terminology within the crusading idea itself. In addition, however, the Church's growing interest in the secular warrior's rôle in medieval Christendom and attempts by clerical theorists to define the knight's relationship not only to secular and spiritual authority but also to God, present additional evidence for the medieval Latin terminology of feudalism later to be seen reflected in stock epithets and phraseology of both

crusading propaganda and chronicles. The main emphasis of this chapter is on the feudal vocabulary and phraseology in crusading situations in vernacular literature. In this respect, the area of military service and aid in battle is most relevant for our study, in so far as the poet's understanding of the knight's motivation for taking the Cross may here be seen in the light of existing social obligations.

There is general agreement among modern medieval scholarship that the background to knighthood and the principles on which it flourished were of a military and warlike nature<sup>1</sup>, even if a consensus of opinion concerning the development of these principles<sup>2</sup>, the existence of an elite social class of knights<sup>3</sup>, or obedience to a particular ethical code which may or may not have been inherited from the writers and philosophers of Classical Rome<sup>4</sup>, is less easily attained. The main difficulty is lack of agreement on the meaning of MHG ritter and medieval Latin miles<sup>5</sup>. If we accept that the knights of Europe were the driving force behind the campaigns in the Holy Land<sup>6</sup>, and that the bulk of the literature of the MHG Blütezeit is concerned with the world of the medieval ritter, then the historical evidence for the social and religious relationship between knights, nobles and God in the light of their military profession is of paramount importance for any conclusions concerning the reflection of crusading reality in poetic fiction. However, the difficulty is not solved by an analysis of the medieval terms miles and ritter alone<sup>7</sup>, because although both these terms cover a very extensive semantic field only in part corresponding to the modern equivalents

Ritter or knight, etc., the historiography and German literature of the Middle Ages possess a large number of epithets referring to the warrior and to his relationship with others of the same profession<sup>8</sup>. It would be going beyond the extent of our study to analyse these references to knightly warriors and to their interrelationships in vernacular literature and historiography<sup>9</sup>, but the figure of the feudal warrior and the stress he laid on a war-orientated view of life were central to medieval society long before the First Crusade, and are of importance for our study in the light of growing Church interest in this secular profession and its ethical code, as a result of a shift in religious and political ideas during the later 10th and early 11th Centuries<sup>10</sup>.

2. It is generally accepted that the origins of medieval feudalism are to be found in the Frankish kingdoms of the Merovingian period<sup>11</sup>, although traces of similar institutions go back to the times of the Roman occupation and the habits of the Germanic tribes. The lack of central stability in the state meant many individuals were in need of protection, and powerful nobles were forced to have recourse to private armies in order to protect their authority and possessions with private armies often consisting of both free and unfree warriors<sup>12</sup>. The reciprocity of protection and military service which arose was only really new in its extent. The later Roman bucellarii<sup>13</sup> and the Germanic comitatus<sup>14</sup> had both represented institutions incorporating protection and voluntary service with more or less personal ties, and the difficulties of tracing the

roots of medieval feudalism are due to the existence side by side of older and newer epithets for the same element<sup>15</sup>.

The act in which the reciprocal arrangement of service and protection was instigated, the commendatio<sup>16</sup>, remained a reasonably flexible one applicable in various situations, and the protection and support offered by the one side in the feudal relationship varied from the provision of direct board to the payment of some sort of alimentation. The Merovingian sources also provide various examples of the donation of a beneficium<sup>17</sup>, a present of land at times legalised in a contract involving payment of a small rent, and often given the later Roman term of precarium<sup>18</sup>. There is little substantial evidence for any connection between beneficium and service during this Merovingian period, although some of those offering service to a more powerful personage may also have been rewarded by similar payments<sup>19</sup>.

Ganshof sees the essence of medieval feudalism in the integration of the two social institutions of service and beneficium during the Carolingian period<sup>20</sup>. The system of protective relationships was adopted as a means of unifying the Empire, and material reward for armed service came from confiscated Church possessions or from the possessions of the rulers themselves, a practice popular by the end of the Carolingian Empire. The Carolingian state thus influenced the developing institution of feudalism in two main ways: firstly by applying the system as a method of governing the subjects of the Empire, and secondly in legalising the system by laying down guidelines for the relationship between lord and vassal. The adoption of the network of personal relationships enabled the Emperor to make the "lord"



responsible for his "vassal" at all levels, so that a hierarchy of dependent feudal relationships came into existence<sup>21</sup>. The lord was responsible for the vassal's military service and the direct chain of military command passed to the next superior in the absence of the vassal's own lord<sup>22</sup>. At the same time the ceremony of commendation and the legal nature of the contract between lord and vassal became more and more fixed, and it gradually became the practice to record this commendation in a written contract. The placing of the vassal's hands in those of the lord (immixtio manuum), the declaration of willingness on the part of the vassal (volo), the oath of fealty (variously referred to as fides, sacramentum, iuramentum, iusiurandum, or fidelitas) and the sealing of the oath with a kiss (osculum) are all first recorded during the Carolingian period<sup>24</sup>.

The institutionalisation of this feudal system of relationships entailed an increasing social demarcation between the classes, although the linguistic usage for both parties in the relationship and for the associated rights and privileges often remained conservative and developed more slowly so that a clear picture of the process does not always emerge. The synallagmatic nature of the relationship between lord and vassal involved obligations for both sides<sup>25</sup>. The vassal's obligation was fealty, which included the obligations of consilium et auxilium<sup>26</sup>. This auxilium consisted of active military service<sup>27</sup>, but also included such duties as the garrisoning of castles, the payment of a scutagium or Schildgeld instead of armed service, and eventually even financial support. Consilium consisted of support in the form of advice, which involved the presence

of the vassal at the lord's court. The obligations of the lord were essentially reciprocal to the duties of the vassal. They consisted of protection and provision of the means of self-support, but also of legal and even military support in the eventuality of the vassal being accused of a felony or physically attacked. The provision of the means of self-support consisted usually of the granting of a fief (referred to as casa - in so far as the vassal was housed - or precaria or beneficium or feodum<sup>28</sup>), and the existence of vassals without fiefs or vassi non casati became more and more of an exception. This fief consisted traditionally of a piece of land from which the vassal was to support himself and if necessary his own vassals, but there were considerable variations: the lord could enfeoff his vassal with a suit of armour, a castle or a fortress, or with a position of importance at court<sup>29</sup>, or later even with a yearly sum of money<sup>30</sup>. The custom also arose of transferring at the same ceremony a concrete object from lord to vassal to symbolise the fief. This object either had momentary symbolical value, e. g. the royal sceptre or staff, etc., or remained with the vassal as concrete symbol of the fief, e. g. a glove, a golden ring, a lance, etc.<sup>31</sup>.

The feudal system of relationships, originally an economic arrangement but affecting all social classes in the Middle Ages, was special when the liege lord was either King, or Emperor, or Seneschal in the case of the early Carolingian state. The free nature of the dependents of the Merovingian kings is traceable to the loyal followers and kinsmen of the Germanic comitatus<sup>32</sup>, in which the relationship was based on the personal ties of loyalty

between leader and gisind (or in the Latinised form gasindus, later to be adopted into early feudal vocabulary and then gradually abandoned in favour of the more popular vassus<sup>33</sup>), but this arrangement was not suitable for the organisation of the whole state<sup>34</sup>. Merovingian feudalism combined vocabulary of the Gallo-Roman and Germanic systems of interrelationships<sup>35</sup>. The chief was said to "take over" (suscipere) the subordinate and to accept his servitium in return for mundium or mundeburdum<sup>36</sup>. The vassal was referred to as fidelis of the lord, a term originally retained for the Roman patron<sup>37</sup>. References to the leudes, or royal band of retainers, and to the trustis, or armed guardian of the king, emphasised the twin obligations of obedience and loyalty to the Frankish ruler<sup>38</sup>. When the system of feudal relationships was adopted for the government of the state during the Carolingian Empire, the vassi dominici, or king's vassals, came to represent a class of vassal with greater authority (honor<sup>39</sup>) than the vassals of lesser nobles. At the same time, by the combination of feudal obligation and royal mundeburdum or OF maimbour, the loyalty of the Carolingian officials was further stabilised<sup>40</sup>. In the 11th and 12th Centuries the practice also arose of referring to the vassal of a lord as miles, which has caused difficulties of interpretation when applied to princes of the realm<sup>41</sup>. The usage of miles suggests, however, that it was a term applicable more especially to the vassal as an armed warrior, and as such can provide little evidence on its own for the existence of a knightly social class. Nevertheless, the Carolingian Emperors are known to have settled their vassals as vassi dominici with benefices

especially in newly subordinated areas so that they could rely on the loyalty of a group of their retainees throughout the state<sup>42</sup>. Under the Carolingians there were therefore two kinds of imperial vassals: the vassi dominici casati with benefices direct from the ruler, and the fideles who were in possession of honores or state offices as vassals of the ruler. In this way, despite the decline of central authority after the death of Charlemagne, the total dissolution of the Empire was averted by the oath of loyalty by the royal vassals to the ruler, so that with the Ottonian revival Otto I reverted to the same custom in order to gain the otherwise unreliable loyalty of the nobility<sup>43</sup>.

In the High Middle Ages the increasing tendency to make fiefs hereditary, the legal nature of the contract involved and the spread of feudalism through all social classes, but above all the increasingly causal connection seen to exist between vassal homage and fief, all made themselves felt in the special relationship between king or Emperor and his vassals. In Germany, where the Carolingian tradition was much stronger than in the rest of Europe, the Emperor relied on his vassi dominici, on the imperial organisation inherited from the Carolingian Empire and on the Reichskirche. It was only with the reforming movement of the Papacy and the Investiturstreit that these foundations for the Empire were so shaken that Frederick Barbarossa was obliged to reorganise the state on feudal lines. Imperial authority hereafter depended on the Reichsfürstenstand, consisting mostly of dukes and margraves feudally tied to the Emperor by means of their imperial fief<sup>44</sup>.

Not only were the relationships between medieval nobility and Emperor dependent on feudal ties, but the relationship between medieval man and his God also reveals feudal characteristics. In Carolingian and Ottonian tradition the Emperor was the imitator of the heavenly Emperor Christ<sup>45</sup>, but, despite the aura of holiness surrounding the Emperor, in medieval political theology there was only one real Emperor, the imperator coelestis, and Christ ruled the earthly Empire through his vice-gerent on earth<sup>46</sup>. This image of Christ as Emperor, as pantokrator<sup>47</sup> - the immanent not transcendental image of God - was common during the early Middle Ages and the relationship of man to this imperial God was seen in terms parallel to his relationship to his earthly Emperor. Medieval man was under obligation to serve the heavenly ruler as his vassal, as he was under obligation to serve the earthly ruler - he was at once fidelis Dei et regis<sup>48</sup>. The origins of these feudal ties to God were to be found in his baptismal oath<sup>49</sup>:

... unusquisque fidelis tempore baptismatis ...  
Christo se mancipavit pactumque cum Deo fecit ...

and as the Frankish rulers saw themselves as protectors of the ecclesia romana in the sense of all Christendom, the individual fidelis had a legally closer relationship to the Emperor.

The fidelitas of the individual warrior in the holy wars against the enemies of Christendom was restricted to obedience to the monarch<sup>50</sup> - there was no direct link between the warrior and God, but through service of the Emperor he was serving God, and the Emperor alone was responsible for the justness of his cause. Charlemagne's campaigns to protect and expand the Empire were true bellā sacra, in that

they served God's purpose of establishing the civitas Dei on earth, and the military support given to Charlemagne by the nobility or by the common warrior was service of God and eligible for heavenly reward. The line of fidelitas nevertheless still needed the Emperor as connecting link between God and warrior. After the decline of the centralised Carolingian state, with its predominantly feudal organisation, the Church gradually had to turn elsewhere than to the theocratic monarchy to put an end to the feuding which broke out in the Empire. With Charlemagne and the later Carolingians the bishops of the Church had held their positions as honores from the Emperor and were certain of royal protection for their property and their religious life, but during the 9th and 10th Centuries the Church had to turn its attention more and more to the aristocracy for this protection<sup>51</sup>.

The concepts miles and militia become of central importance at this stage of Church interest in secular society. The view of life as a never-ending battle was one of the oldest in Christianity<sup>52</sup>, and the images of the individual as miles Christi or of the Christian Church and its members as militia Christi, militia Dei, militia christiana, etc., are common ones throughout Christian theology. But this warlike epithet was understood for centuries on the spiritual plane; the militia Christi was seen as the counterpart to the militia saecularis, and referred almost exclusively to the spiritual battle against worldliness and the hosts of the Devil waged by the monk in his cell. Otherwise, this term was also applied to the apostles, missionaries, martyrs and saints, but the real

profession of war was totally rejected, even though the terminology was borrowed from the secular warrior profession<sup>53</sup>. The development of the Church's attitude from rejection of all warlike activity to initiation of aggressive warfare in God's name is a long and complicated one. Holy war to expand and protect Christendom could only succeed under a strong central authority, and with the decline of the Carolingian Empire this was no longer guaranteed. The leadership of Christianity therefore fluctuated, and towards the end of the 9th Century, when the authority of both Papacy and Empire declined, authority descended to the warrior aristocracy, or feudal anarchy broke out. The early 10th Century, however, saw the restoration of an Empire on the Carolingian model with a feudal organisation of the nobility. At the same time two parallel and associated tendencies can be noted in the Church's activity: an increasing interest in religious reform in an attempt to return to a life of asceticism and to gain independence from secular influence<sup>54</sup>, and an increasing interest in the feudal nobility itself. Both tendencies led to a strong papal authority, a growing assertion of the spiritual supremacy of the Pope as head of Christendom, and to a feudal warrior nobility which exercised its military profession in the service of the Church.

The background to the Church's influence on secular society has often been seen in the movement of religious reform associated with Cluny<sup>55</sup>, and the influence of this abbey certainly embodies one strand in a shift in the Church's interest towards the feudal aristocracy, even if rejection of warlike activity predominated at first. The

rôle of Cluny in this process was in fact a relatively modest one: the life of the spiritual miles Christi was no longer seen as the only form of life suitable for a true Christian, but as one of various forms of which it was the superior form<sup>56</sup>. Lay society was accorded a certain amount of justification in gaining salvation, yet the life of ascetic self-denial was still the highest form of religious devotion, a calling which had an effect on many lay personages, for many abandoned the profession of arms in favour of a life of contemplation in the search for heavenly reward<sup>57</sup>.

The Church's interest in lay society was also felt in its increasing reliance on the protection of the nobility and in the movement known as pax Dei<sup>58</sup>: in consequence, the Church began to transfer the ideas formerly associated with the medieval ruler to a wider social group<sup>59</sup>. The Gottesfriedenbewegung was an instance of a tendency with a different emphasis, in that the responsibility for peace in the Empire, originally the prerogative of the ruler, was now claimed by the Church. These two tendencies, in which elements of the sacral nature of the ruler were transferred to lay society and the Church took over elements of the secular responsibility of the ruler, both involved the Church more closely in the field of knighthood and warfare in general. This did not mean that the Church itself took up arms, but that it involved itself more intimately in restricting and defining what constituted justified warfare, and the treuga Dei, or a restricted period of religiously proclaimed peace (also later associated with the proclamation of the Crusades) is part of the same tradition, and



represents an important initiative on the part of the Church<sup>60</sup>.

The result of Church interest in lay society was an adaptation of the social customs of the warrior class<sup>61</sup> to religious ideas. As early as the 10th Century liturgical texts are to be found reflecting the Church's changing attitude to war, and in the following centuries the Ritterweihe became more and more infused with religious feeling and vocabulary<sup>62</sup>. Prayers and benedictions in tempore belli, or quando ad bellum contra hostes proficiscitur or pro exercitu, etc.<sup>63</sup>, no longer ask for God's blessing on the ruler but on the army as a whole, although initially the blessing was for the sword rather than for the warrior wielding it. This blessing of the sword, or consecratio ensis, contained precisely those elements which had formerly been the prerogative of the early medieval theocratic ruler<sup>64</sup>:

Exaudi, domine, quesemus, preces nostras, et hunc ensem, quo hic famulus tuus N se circumcingi desiderat, maiestatis tuae dextera benedicere dignare, quatinus defensio atque protectio possit esse ecclesiarum, uiduarum, orphanorum omniumque deo seruientium contra seuitiam paganorum aliisque sibi insidiantibus sit paup, terror et formido.

This gradual recognition of the rôle of the warrior was of primary importance for the later development of Church influence. "Gerade die Übertragung der ethischen Forderungen vom Herrscher auf den einzelnen Krieger, vom Staat auf das Kriegerhandwerk als solches, ist das entscheidende Moment und derjenige Schritt, den die Kirche vollziehen mußte, um die Kluft, die sie trotz allem noch vom Kriege trennte, zu überspannen und den Kriegerstand in ihr weltdurchdringendes Wirken einzubeziehen<sup>65</sup>." By proclaiming the pax Dei, by

assuming responsibilities formerly associated with the ruler, and by introducing religious ideas to the initiation ceremony of the knight, the Church had in fact laid the foundations for its claim to be leader of the holy wars of Christendom against its enemies, although this leadership remained for a long time under imperial control. The foundations for this claim had first to be given the theoretical support of Church dogma, however, before the Papacy could make a crusading appeal with the success of Urban II.

The final developments in this process are to be found during the Reformed Papacy in the efforts of Leo IX and of Gregory VII<sup>66</sup>. Leo IX's campaigns against the Tuscans and the Normans in Southern Italy in 1053 were for the first time military undertakings under papal leadership and with a religious motivation. "Leo IX ist der erste Papst, der grundsätzlich seine Kriege aus der Religion herleitete, sie mit den Geboten der Kirche in Einklang brachte und den kriegerischen Geist des Heeres mit kirchlichem Sinn durch-  
 rang<sup>67</sup>." Here, for the first time, elements typical of the First Crusade are to be found: Leo IX offered an indulgence to his troops, after his defeat at Civit  the dead were hailed as martyrs, and the battle was declared liberanda christianitas.<sup>68</sup> The Pope was under an obligation similar to that of a feudal overlord to revenge and protect the inhabitants of Benevent, which had been plundered by the Normans while under papal protection. The Normans had also declared their willingness before the battle of Civit  to receive the territories they had conquered as a fief from the Pope, although they were already vassals of the Emperor Henry III. Although Leo IX refused this offer, it is

nevertheless of importance for later papal activity, for the Normans saw the Pope as legitimate successor in their feudal ties to the Emperor<sup>69</sup>. Under Nicholas II the Normans actually came to be papal vassals of the Pope<sup>70</sup>, and by replacing the Emperor as their liege lord the Papacy had taken on a rôle which it had as yet not played but which was essential for later papal policy<sup>71</sup>. The feudal oath which Robert Guiscard and Richard of Capua made to the Pope was similar to the one they had made to the Emperor, and the basis for their relationship was also one of military service, but their campaigns against the anti-Pope and in Southern Italy had the express purpose of subjugating these territories to the authority of St. Peter in Rome, and they went into battle under the vexillum sancti Petri<sup>72</sup>. Papal leadership of holy war here approached its fullest development - but the campaigns were still not against enemies of Christianity but against Christian rebels and heretics<sup>73</sup>. Papal justification for the right to feudal overlordship and to enfeoff the Normans with the territories of Southern Italy presented the Papacy with some difficulty - on the surface the Pope had usurped prerogatives of the Emperor. But the Constantinian Donation and the specifically religious nature of the feudal contract were enough for Alexander II to extend his patronage to the Norman campaigns in Sicily<sup>74</sup>. Papal patronage of warfare and of the warrior aristocracy at this stage revealed various elements later to be found in papal declarations concerning the Crusade: the warriors were placed under the protection of the Pope, the reward for military service was a fief from their papal overlord, the campaigns in Apulia and Calabria were

aimed at regaining territory from the Greek Empire and anticipated Gregory VII's aim of reunifying the Latin and Greek Church, the warrior knights were not only offered material feudal reward but also heavenly reward, and the holy war came more and more to be fought against a non-Christian population in order to protect indigenous Christians from persecution, and was associated with missionary activity<sup>75</sup>. Theoretical justification for this increased interest in papal leadership of the holy war was forthcoming under "der kriegerrischste Papst, der je auf Petri Stuhl gesessen hat"<sup>76</sup>, under Gregory VII.

Gregory VII had been full of plans of a military nature before he succeeded to the Papacy<sup>77</sup>. His first military step as Pope was an unsuccessful appeal to the Roman and French nobility to support a campaign against the former ally of the Papacy, the now excommunicated Robert Guiscard, who was attacking papal territory in violation of his feudal oath of allegiance to the Pope<sup>78</sup>. His attempts to become the feudal overlord of France were doomed to failure because of the loyalty of the French nobility to Philip I<sup>79</sup>. In Spain, he expanded the Cluniac tradition of support for the Spanish nobility and those predominantly French warriors who saw in the reconquista the prime example of a holy war before the Crusades, and the papal religio-political claim to authority was probably also recognised and accepted by the participants in this campaign<sup>80</sup>. Gregory is, however, best remembered for his somewhat eccentric plans for a campaign to protect the Byzantine Emperor against the Turks, which have been seen as forerunners to Urban II's appeal for a Crusade<sup>81</sup>. It is also possible to see these plans as part

of the holy war tradition, for they were essentially aimed at protecting the Eastern Christians and at rechristianising territory which had already been Christian<sup>82</sup>, although the idea of papal supremacy and of the unification of the Greek and Latin Churches may also have played an important rôle. Gregory's plans for such a campaign are nevertheless overshadowed by his main interest, which was devoted to the struggle between sacerdotium and regnum, in which he was concerned to strengthen the authority of the Papacy<sup>83</sup>. His efforts against Henry IV, and his support for the German princes and the anti-king Rudolf of Rheinfelden, intensified the hierarchic struggle between Empire and Papacy. The dual excommunication of Henry IV released the German nobility from their imperial feudal vows of obligation<sup>84</sup>, and Gregory's so-called indulgence for the supporters of Rudolf<sup>85</sup> also showed an increased interest in the warrior profession of the feudal nobility. In the last instance, however, this interest was not in the context of a holy war. The conflict between Empire and Papacy was one between Christians - a conflict in which feudal and religio-political elements combined.

Gregory VII's importance for the development of feudal Christian chivalry lies in his apparent understanding of their military profession and in his recognition of the value of active military service in God's name. Due to his preoccupation with the hierarchic struggle between Papacy and Empire, however, a clear definition of how military activity and the life of a true Christian could be reconciled does not emerge. Gregory understood the metaphor militia Christi in the traditional sense when he applied

it to the spiritual battle of asceticism fought by bishops and by other members of the clergy, but he also imbued it with a new element characteristic of the interest he showed in Christian chivalry. His reference to the Pataria leader Erlembald as strenuissimus Christi miles undoubtedly emphasises the active military service of Christ by the warrior<sup>86</sup>. Gregory's own military ambitions brought him closer to the warrior nobility, but his understanding for their rôle was affected and influenced by religious, feudal and political considerations. His references to militia sancti Petri are characteristic of this interaction. Gregory's use of vocabulary with feudal connotations is not consistent<sup>87</sup>, despite his attempts to see himself as feudal sovereign of various states<sup>88</sup> and despite the strong influence of feudal ideas on the Papacy at this time<sup>89</sup>. What Gregory understood as a militia sancti Petri was not a militia Christi as it was to be understood later during the period of the Crusades, however, for the service entailed was primarily service of the Pope before service of Christianity in general; "der fromme Eifer des Rittertums sollte nicht nur allgemein auf christliche Ziele, sondern speziell auf die Unterstützung des Papstes gerichtet sein"<sup>90</sup>.

The importance of Gregory's papacy for the development of the papal attitude towards warfare lay in the controversy he provoked<sup>91</sup>. In the Synod of Worms in 1076 deposing the Pope, Henry IV had attacked the Pope's right to wage war in the name of Christianity, retaining this prerogative for the Emperor, and Church dogma was faced with the problem of reconciling its claim with the movement of pax Dei for which the Papacy also claimed the initiative. This controversy

between supporters and opponents of an active engagement by the Church as instigator of warfare and as participant in its campaigns, is as much a part of the literature of the Investiturstreit as the better known polemics of a religious-political nature<sup>92</sup>. Opponents of the papal claims, such as Wenrich of Trier and Petrus Crassus, were countered by Gregorian supporters such as Manegold of Lautenbach, Bernhard of Constance and Anselm of Lucca<sup>93</sup>. War in the name of the Papacy was maintained to be as justifiable as war in the name of one's fatherland; the imperial forces of Henry IV were regarded as heretics and schismatics and placed on the same level as heathen, so that all efforts to subdue them, even secular methods, were regarded as good works in the religious sense; the anti-king was proclaimed a protector of the Roman Church worthy of the assistance of every true Christian; war was, in the Augustinian sense, evil, but if war did prove necessary, then its only justifiable aim was the restoration of peace. Anselm of Lucca, as the most vociferous supporter of the Gregorian standpoint, emphasised the ethics of the warrior, whose duty it was to put his skills at the disposal of the common good, and he also unambiguously supported the right of the Church to lead and to instigate war. At last, the way was clear for later aggressive campaigns against enemies of the Church led by the Pope and carried out in his name<sup>94</sup>.

Of equal importance for the relationship of the Church to warfare and the knight were the writings of Bonizo of Sutri. Bonizo was primarily concerned with the justification of warfare by the Pope, and in his Liber ad amicum he came to the conclusion that it was the duty of every

Christian to fight heretics with every means at his disposal<sup>95</sup>:

... haeresos novitates, contra quas omni christiano pugnandum pro officii sui consideratione nulli dubium est ...

This appeal was directed not only at the clergy and the nobility but also at the warrior in particular, who was thus included in the process of salvation, although Bonizo's interpretation of the Augustinian position on war substituted justice for love as the only legitimate motivation<sup>96</sup>. More important for the feudal relationship of warrior to secular and religious lord, however, is Bonizo's Liber de vita christiana<sup>97</sup>, a collection of commented canonical authorities referring to the hierarchical ordering of religious and secular society, in which the obedience of the subordinate to his immediate superior was the basis for Bonizo's view of Christian life<sup>98</sup>. This basic Christian virtue, at the same time the primary characteristic of the secular feudal relationship even for the freeman<sup>99</sup>, and associated with the cardinal Christian virtue of humility<sup>100</sup>, was for Bonizo the guiding principle for relationships among the clergy, the secular classes, and between Christian and God, although as a supporter of the Gregorian political position Bonizo also saw the secular classes as subordinate to the Church<sup>101</sup>:

... unusquisque modum suum cognoscens maioribus sua iura conservans prelati in omnibus debitam offerat obedientiam. Sic et de laicis sentiendum est, ut non plebs adversus milites, non milites adversus iudices, non iudices adversus reges in aliquo rebelles existant ...

All those not submitting to the authority of the Christian Church were condemned<sup>102</sup>:



... non solum infames, sed et extorres a regno Dei et consortio fidelium, a limitibus sanctae Dei ecclesiae alieni erunt.

Book VII of Bonizo's collection, with its authoritativeness on the ethics of Christian chivalry, has been recognised as anticipating the code of behaviour and ethical standpoint of the Crusader<sup>103</sup>. The Christian knight was expected to show obedience both to God and to secular authority<sup>104</sup>:

De militibus vero quid aliud dicam, nisi quod fidem servantes dominis et precipue regni tenentibus gubernacula sic militent terrene potestati, ...

Bonizo presented the duties of Christian chivalry in this world without comment and without quotations from canonical authority<sup>105</sup>:

His proprium est dominis deferre, prede non iniare, pro vita dominorum suorum tuenda sue vite non parcere et pro statu rei publice usque ad mortem decertare, scismaticos et hereticos debellare, pauperes quoque et viduas et orphanos defensare, fidem promissam non violare nec omnino dominis suis periurare.

This code of behaviour contained elements of the obligations on the medieval ruler transferred to the Christian warrior, a standpoint characteristic of the Reformed Papacy and gradually included in the Ritterweihe (protection of widows and orphans), and also aspects of feudal fealty (loyalty and obedience of the vassal to his lord), but its association with Gregorian politics revealed itself in Bonizo's appeal to secular chivalry to combat heretics and schismatics. All those not adhering to the demands of obedience were to be punished by death in this world and by the soul's damnation in the next<sup>106</sup>:

Caveant ergo milites, ne diabolico instinctu contra dominos suos audeant conspirare; conspirantes enim seculi leges capitali dampnant sententia et ecclesiastice sanctorum patrum regule a regno Dei iudicant alienos.

Bonizo's main preoccupation was with the battle against heresy epitomised in the anti-Pope Clemens III, and he saw the duty of the Christian knight to aid the Church, just as it was his duty to fight for the state and for his liege lord. An appeal to fight the forces of the Empire was not in Bonizo's interest<sup>107</sup>. Nevertheless, this code of behaviour was still lacking in one element associated with crusading propaganda: Bonizo did not justify Christian warfare against the heathen but merely against lapsed Christians<sup>108</sup>, and as such his work is an example of extreme pro-Gregorian polemics and still part of the holy war tradition.

The hierocratic designs of Gregory VII and his supporters failed to unite Christian chivalry in papal holy war, but the period immediately preceding the First Crusade presented the Western knight with various other opportunities to place his arms in the service of a religious end. The number of mercenary troops in Western Christendom remained small because of the more rigid ties of feudalism in which the allegiance of knights to their liege lord prevailed, but during the 11th Century the Byzantine army attracted a considerable number of Western knights with the promise of both financial and heavenly reward<sup>109</sup>. On the borders of the Byzantine Empire and in Spain, the idea of war against the heathen also flourished, and after the battle of Barbastro and the defeats of the Christian forces at Zallaca or Sagrajos many French knights put their arms in the service of Alfonso VI of Castille against the Moors in Spain<sup>110</sup>. In Germany, the idea of war against the heathen paled before the conflict between Empire and Papacy, which was to affect participation by the German knighthood in

the Crusades well into the 12th Century<sup>111</sup>. A close contact by Western Christians with the heathen world also arose with the increasingly popular institution of the pilgrimage during the 11th Century<sup>112</sup>.

The idea of warfare against the heathen was thus by no means new on the eve of the First Crusade, but such campaigns were primarily local ones, and the Church's support was similarly local. Appeals were seldom made to Christian chivalry in general and were mostly not with the salvation of all Christendom in mind, but restricted to the individual battlefields. Feudal allegiance to the Papacy during the 11th Century was in aid of the Pope's hierocratic intentions, not for the benefit of all Christendom. Military service of the Church against heretics, or against the heathen in Spain, was regarded as service of God and eligible for heavenly reward, but in the last instance the oath of allegiance made by the knights was to such secular lords as Alfonso VI of Castille and allegiance to the Church was only sworn with the aim of proclaiming the Pope's secular supremacy in Christian territory<sup>113</sup>.

The end of the 11th Century in Europe thus presented a warrior class involved in a number of self-complementing and self-contradictory relationships, which were to be only slightly clarified in the ensuing Crusades. Ties of family kinship, with the obligation to render military aid and to avenge wrongs done to any member of this closely knit group, survived into the Middle Ages from the Germanic ethical code, and retained an importance alongside the ties of feudal obligation<sup>114</sup>. The rôle of the warrior vassal was primarily to offer military service to his liege lord in

return for the payment of a fief, but also to give advice and homage to his liege lord in his home. The Emperor was also surrounded by imperial vassals who owed their allegiance directly to the monarch and held their imperial office as a fief from the hands of the ruler. Service of the Empire, either in peace or in war, was regarded as service of God's will and therefore eligible for heavenly reward. Increasing Church interest in the knightly profession led the Church also to claim for itself the right to wage war in the name of the Papacy, and to attempt to subjugate the Emperor and Christian chivalry to its authority by binding them with a feudal oath of allegiance. In addition, such attempts by the Church gave rise to a reinterpretation of the relationship between the individual knight and God, so that the vocabulary of Christian warfare was further used to define the duties and obligations of the Christian knight to his spiritual liege lord. Military service of the heavenly Emperor was rewarded by the heavenly fief of the soul's salvation<sup>115</sup>. It was reserved for the Church to develop this interpretation of Christian chivalry during the century and a half of crusading warfare, and the language necessary for this interpretation in part already existed in the relationship between medieval knight and his superior in the secular world.

3. The arbitrary classification of MHG literature during the historical period of the Crusades into vorhöfisch and höfisch<sup>116</sup> is appropriate for our study of feudal terminology, in so far as the differentiation illustrates in part the MHG poets' varying interpretations of the ethical code

represented by the knightly world in their poems. Although the two literary periods are characterised by basically the same principles relevant for the society which the poems illustrate and for which they are written<sup>117</sup>, courtly epic and lyric poetry<sup>118</sup> was written for a knightly audience by representatives of this same social group, but the literature of the earlier period, also presenting secular material, was written for a knightly audience by a group of poets who were either Church-orientated or themselves members of the clergy<sup>119</sup>. The period of the Crusades was heralded by an increasing Church interest in the profession of the knight, and in the relationship between knight and ruler, knight and God, and knight and Church. The Crusades themselves can be seen as the crux of this interest, for Urban II addressed himself directly to the knightly nobility. Church dogma also belatedly attempted to present a theoretical justification for this Church interest, but this met with opposition both from members of the clergy and of the knightly profession itself. It would be an over-simplification to say that there developed a spiritual and a secular interpretation of chivalry, but members of the knighthood were also not unaware of the problems of reconciling their military profession or their service of a secular ruler with the demands of Christian life, both in a crusading context and outside it. This conflict, expressed by Walther von der Vogelweide in the lines:

wie man zer welte solte leben:

L 8,10

...

wie man driu dinc erwurbe,  
 der keines niht verdurbe.  
 diu zwei sint êre und varnde guot,  
 daz dicke ein ander schaden tuot:  
 daz dritte ist gotes hulde,  
 der zweier übergulde.

8,15

and by Wolfram's description of an ideal knight:

swes lebn sich sô verendet,	Parz. 827,21
daz got niht wirt gepfendet	
der sêle durch des lîbes schulde,	
und der doch der werlde hulde	
behalten kan mit werdekeit, ...	827,25

was a basic one for all of medieval knighthood, and one which is clearly reflected in all aspects of the later period. The crusading experience facilitated a knightly interpretation of a Christian existence, but this by no means entailed acceptance of the Church position, which at first adhered more closely to the traditions of the holy war.

Feudal military service of the medieval ruler against enemies of the state and later against enemies of Christendom was recognised by the knighthood as part of their ordo<sup>120</sup>. By serving their liege lord according to the demands of a feudal social order they were serving God, and were therefore themselves eligible for heavenly reward. Church dogma accepted this principle of holy war and supported its application especially on the borders of the medieval Empire. During the Crusades, however, a new interpretation of the knight's relationship to God, incorporating the demands of a feudal social order and later adopted by the Church but originating with the knighthood itself, became prevalent. It also became possible to look upon God as feudal overlord, to serve him directly with military service, to owe personal allegiance directly to the heavenly ruler and to gain reward and feudal beneficium from him directly<sup>121</sup>. Both interpretations of the relationship between knight and God are found reflected in the literature of the Crusades - indeed they at times conflict, especially where the source for a MHG work may be traced to

an OF chanson de geste more implicitly rooted in the tradition of the bellum sacrum. The one interpretation may not, however, preclude the other, for a direct personal relationship between knight and God can exist alongside the feudal relationship of knight and his earthly liege lord, and the service of one is paralleled by service of the other - especially when the service entails battle against the heathen.

Crusading historiography reflects the feudal ordering of society between knight and nobility in several ways. In particular, crusading chronicles present examples of the payment of monies to feudal vassals to incite them to military action. The author of the Gesta Francorum accounts the efforts by Christian leaders to recruit knights after the capture of Antioch<sup>122</sup>:

Feceruntque principes preconari per urbem uniuersam,  
ut si forte aliquis egens illic adesset et auro  
argentoque careret, conuentione facta cum illis  
remanere si uellet, ab eis cum gaudio retentus esset.

In later crusading propaganda, the opportunity of material gain in the form of winning territories in Palestine became an accepted part of the exhortatory literature<sup>123</sup>:

Taceo nunc quod terra illa (sc. Terra Sancta) quam  
petetis, longe hac terra opulentior est atque fecundior;  
et facile fieri potest ut multi etiam ex vobis in rebus  
etiam temporalibus prosperiorem ibi fortunam inueniant  
quam hic se expertos meminerunt.

This material form of reward is only indirectly concerned with feudal obligation in so far as many nobles allowed their vassals to plunder at will as a form of payment. Despite the Church's rejection of the principle of looting, the crusading chronicles often present the booty which fell into the Crusaders' hands as God's provision<sup>124</sup>:

Praefatus itaque juvenis accepta galea et facta fidelitate domino, archiepiscopo terram Saracenorum per mare inquietare coepit, et inde multa spolia multasque praedas cum captivis divina gratia auxiliante adduxit; ...

although Pope Urban II only accorded the spiritual reward of remission of sins to those undertaking to go to the Holy Land in a spirit of pious renunciation of worldly goods<sup>125</sup>.

Feudal ties of obligation between vassal and lord were not restricted to the Christian armies. In the Moslem kingdoms, the feudal ordering of society arose at the same time and along the same lines as in the West: "Once perfected, the institutions of the Moslem feudal regime were analogous in many instances to those of western feudalism. In both military service became the basis of tenure and the fief holders had similar political rights over tenants. But Moslem feudalism, by reason partly of geography and climate, partly of Arab traditions embodying looser organisation and partly of Moslem allegiance to the central government as succeeding to the authority of Mohammed, never developed the close-knit and durable hierarchy of western feudalism<sup>126</sup>." Despite this restriction, the First Crusaders expressed their surprise to discover a knightly society in the lands into which they advanced<sup>127</sup>:

Quis unquam tam sapiens aut doctus audebit describere prudentiam militiamque et fortitudinem Turcorum?

and the Turks themselves made the same discovery<sup>128</sup>:

... sed erunt omnes milites sicut et nos sumus; ...

Feudal obligations of one knight to another were just as clearly evident in the heathen world<sup>129</sup>:

"... tibi dabo oppidum tibi que faciam hominum, et in tua fidelitate custodiam illud oppidum."



Feudal organisation of territory also made itself felt in the heathen demands of Christian forces to subjugate themselves to the authority of heathen nobles<sup>130</sup>:

Unum, Petre, scito quod Christiani eligant: scilicet ut omnis imberbis juventus ad nos transeant, michi et domino meo, regi Corrozona, servientes, quos magnis beneficiis et muneribus ditabimus.

But agreements were also made on both sides to subjugate territories to the authority of the nobility of whichever side happened to have the upper hand in battle at a particular time<sup>131</sup>, and this system of feudal obedience and tribute was a further example of crusading reality to be found not only in Palestine and Syria but also in Spain<sup>132</sup>. The Arab chronicles of the Crusades also present ample evidence of feudal allegiance given in the sense of military service by the Arab warriors to their liege lords<sup>133</sup>.

For MHG crusading literature, as a literature concerned with the knightly class, the reflection of feudal relationships or of the ties of personal obligation between knights is as natural as the concern for principles by which the knighthood stood<sup>134</sup>. In the legend of St. Oswald the king demands loyalty of his vassals before setting out overseas on his errand to convert the heathen and to win the heathen queen Pamige (Spange in the Vienna MS)<sup>135</sup>:

ir sult mir triuwe erzeigen,	MOsw. 1551
wande ir sît alle mîn eigen.	
darzuo gibe ich iu rîchen solt,	
beide silber unde daz golt,	
ich wil iu lîhen unde geben,	1555
die wîle ich hân daz leben:	

This is the loyalty demanded of his vassals by a medieval ruler in return for the solt<sup>136</sup> or fief. In Herzog Ernst, Ernst demands (and receives) the same loyalty of his followers on setting out for a campaign to the Holy Land<sup>137</sup>.

In the Rolandslied, Genelun's vassals are willing to serve their master unto death<sup>138</sup>:

siben hundert siner manne	<u>RL</u> 1544
die waren gereit alle	1545
ze dinen ir herren,	
ob si bi ime scholden sterben.	

But they are concerned with worldly considerations and bewail the fact that they will no longer see their wives and children:

si wuften alle sere.	<u>RL</u> 1663
enurteile sazten si den lib,	
bediu kint unde wip	1665
durch ir triuwe.	

Konrad condemns such grief as ummâze (RL 1736) and presents the loyalty of Genelun's vassals as a purely worldly obligation, in contrast to the spirit of sacrifice and the obligation to a heavenly lord shown by the Crusaders in general and in the Rolandslied by the imperial army in particular<sup>139</sup>. On the one hand the vassals follow Genelun durch ir triuwe (RL 1666)<sup>140</sup>, on the other the imperial army is willing to die durh got (RL 81); Genelun's vassals may place themselves in physical danger by their feudal loyalty - enurteile sazten si den lib - but the remainder of the Christian army is willing to sacrifice the body for spiritual reward<sup>141</sup>. Konrad thus condemns feudal loyalty which is not enlightened by loyalty to God and by the necessity of sacrifice associated with it, which was the basis of redemptive chivalry<sup>142</sup>.

Feudal relationships are not however ignored in the rest of the Christian army. Both in the battle preparations<sup>143</sup>, and in the scenes of grief arising from loss of personal friends, relations and feudal partners<sup>144</sup>, this relationship is clearly recognised. The reward for feudal service is

almost entirely a heavenly one<sup>145</sup>, because besides the feudal and personal allegiance of the vassals to their liege lord they are also vassals of God<sup>146</sup>. The importance of Roland's offer of material reward for this campaign against the heathen:

ist aue hie dihein man  
der gvt nemen wil,  
man git im sin uil;

RL 152

is that nobody accepts this offer, and the offer is parallel to Roland's appeal to the Christians to leave all booty until the army of the heathen has been destroyed (RL 4192-4; 4206-9). This is very much in line with Konrad's representation of redemptive chivalry<sup>147</sup>. Nevertheless, Roland does expressly allow the Christian army to plunder, as long as the heathen are completely vanquished, which is an echo of the more popular side to the Crusades as recorded in the chronicles. This episode is also recorded in the Pseudo-Turpin<sup>148</sup>, where a moral is added:

Hi vero tipum gerunt certantium pro Christo, quia sicut illi, postquam inimicos suos devicerunt, ad mortuos, cupiditatis causa, redierunt, et interfecti sunt ab inimicis, sic fideles quique, qui vicia sua decertaverint, ac penitentiam acceperint, ad mortuos, id est vicia, iterum redire non debent, ne forte ab inimicis, id est demonibus, interficiantur. Sicut enim illi qui ad aliena spolia revertentes presentem vitam perdiderunt, et nece turpi perierunt, sic religiosi quique qui seculum dimiserunt, et ad terrena negotia inflectuntur, vitam celestem perdunt, et mortem perpetuam amplectuntur.

This is the strict clerical approach to looting, although even Konrad seems to condone this after the second battle, when he describes the booty as God's provision<sup>149</sup>:

al daz di haiden uz brachten,  
daz kom in allez ze guten staten.  
so tut ie der unser rehte uater:  
so in siniu kint suchint,  
alle ir not er wol beruchet.

RL 8610

Feudal relationships in the Christian army, and the relationships of personal and family obligation as the basis of the feudal social order, are similarly recognisable in Willehalm. Vivianz is preoccupied before his death with his loyalty to Willehalm and Gyburg:

min wille in den gebaeren	Wh. 66,4
was, daz ich triuwe gein iu hielt,	66,5
die nie kein wanc von mir gespielt.	

He sees it as a sin not to be able to repay the goodness shown him by Willehalm and Gyburg with adequate military service (Wh. 65,24-66,3). During the battles, vassal and lord aid each other reciprocally<sup>150</sup>. In the first battle, Willehalm's vassals owe allegiance to him personally, and are willing to give up their lives in his service<sup>151</sup>:

... vierzehen der sine,	Wh. 50,13
die werliche pine	
bi ir herren dolden	50,15
und niht von im enwolden,	
wan daz si ir verh vür in buten.	

This personal obligation can also be felt in Arnalt's words of loyalty towards Gyburg during Willehalm's journey to fetch support for the beleaguered Orange:

al unser art waere geschant,	Wh. 121,10
ob Giburc würde entvüeret dir.	

The family obligation of Willehalm's relations to avenge the wrongs done to him and Gyburg accounts for the presence of Willehalm's father and brothers in the second battle - a motivation which Wolfram separates from the obligations of imperial feudalism forming the basis for the conflict at Louis' court and eventually extending the conflict from a family matter to an imperial battle between the Christian and heathen worlds<sup>152</sup>. The result of the deliberations at Laon is that Willehalm is nominated Reichsvertreter in overall command of the Christian army. This is made up of

the imperial army fighting for imperial solt, and of the vassals and feudal mercenaries of his relations, who owe allegiance to their own liege lord (Wh. 214,1-4). Willehalm reminds them all of the knightly oath they swore on becoming knights<sup>153</sup>:

"ein ieslîch ritter sîner êre	<u>Wh.</u> 299,13
gedenke, als in nû lêre,	
dô er daz swert emphienc, ein segen.	299,15
swer ritterschaft wil rehte phlegen,	
der sol witewen und weisen	
beschirmen von ir vreisen:	
daz wirt sîn endelôs gewin."	

and the idea of feudal military service is extended to include Minnedienst as one of the characteristics of chivalric society in the High Middle Ages. In addition to the reward of the soul's salvation and werder wîbe gruoz (Wh. 299,27), Wolfram also presents the knights with the material reward from a liege lord to his vassals<sup>154</sup>:

"muoz ich der marke walden,	<u>Wh.</u> 231,16
ich rîche iuch immer, unz ich lebe,	
sô mit lêhen, sô mit gebe."	

He also expressly accepts as general practice the taking of booty from the heathen<sup>155</sup>.

The most striking example of feudal ideology in a crusading context is to be found in Hartmann von Aue's decision to take the Cross on the death of his liege lord:

Sît mich der tôt beroubet hât	<u>MF</u> 210,23
des herren mîn	
swie nû diu werlt nâch im gestât,	210,25
daz lâze ich sîn.	
der fröide mîn den besten teil	
hât er dâ hin, ...	

Because of the death of his liege lord Hartmann rejects the world in which fröide no longer exists for him, and devotes his energies to battle against the heathen and to service of God, with a purity of spirit reminiscent of the preaching of Bernard of Clairvaux and with a view of life

in this world sub specie aeternitatis<sup>156</sup>. Hartmann's ties to his lord even transcend the latter's death, in that the promise of remission of sins he receives before leaving on the Crusade, and the heavenly reward he may receive for his deeds as a Crusader, are to be shared between vassal and lord for the good of the lord's soul (MF 210,31-4). The feudal relationship of knight to his liege lord is here expressed in its strongest form, although Hartmann now rejects the ties of this world for the spiritual obligations between himself and God<sup>157</sup>.

The reflection of a feudal ordering of heathen relationships in MHG literature is also an understandable, even necessary, aspect of the individual poet's method of portraying the opponents of Christian armies. In the Rolandslied, Marsilie appeals to feudal and to personal ties of loyalty to avenge the apparent wrongs done to him<sup>158</sup>:

"wanu friunt unt man,  
den ich zeliube icht han getan!  
wanu di mir heluen wellen, ...  
ir gelpes widir prengen!"

RL 5697  
5701

Cursabile is presented as a powerful heathen noble with 30,000 vassals at his disposal to avenge Marsilie<sup>159</sup>, but he is also eligible for feudal reward for services rendered to his liege lord (RL 3639-41). This feudal "service" in the sense of material gifts and self-effacement before the power, authority and honour of another is also extended to Genelun (RL 2763 f.; 2768)<sup>160</sup>. The rendering of military service in return for feudal reward in the heathen army is paralleled in Willehalm<sup>161</sup>:

..., "dise und die,  
den ich wltiu lant dar umme lihe  
und ir houpten drumme krōnen gihe,  
die dienen hiute ir lēhen, ..."

Wh. 358,2  
358,5

Wolfram presents the warriors of both sides as feudal warriors and Minneritter in one (Wh. 255,14 ff.; 393,3 ff.; 398,18 f.; etc.), although he earlier maintains that the demands of Minne are often stronger with the heathen knights (Wh. 254,26 f.) - a characteristic device even in the Rolandslieð to emphasise the more material orientation of heathen interest<sup>162</sup>. Feudal reward and the rewards of Minne are also accorded to both sides<sup>163</sup>:

herre und âmie  
solhes strîtes solden lônên,  
ob si triuwe kunden schônên,  
der dâ ze beider sît geschach.

Wh. 380,26

and the heathen warriors of Tybalt are willing to lay down their lives for their feudal lord in an attempt to win back Gyburg (Wh. 367,1-6).

The historiography of the period preceding the Crusades, as well as sources contemporary to the campaigns in Palestine, present considerable evidence for the allegiance of Christian nobility to the imperial mission of expanding the respublica christiana by subjugation of heathen territory and baptism of its inhabitants. The Church's propaganda was influenced by the religio-political struggle for power between Papacy and Empire, but crusading propaganda at first made little reference to imperial allegiance, as the Crusades were seen as service of the Christian Church and of Christianity in general, rather than of the Empire. The investiture struggle underlined the Church's refusal to see the Emperor as God's vicegerent on earth - a rôle the Church reserved for the Pope<sup>164</sup>. In the campaigns against the heathen tribes on the Eastern borders of the Empire, allegiance to the imperial mission was strong by the nobility, and at times had its own validity in face of other demands to do

battle against the heathen<sup>165</sup>. Nevertheless, the Church's appeals to the nobility were also at times of a different sort; allegiance to the Roman Church as head of all Christianity was emphasised in terms reminiscent of demands for imperial allegiance<sup>166</sup>:

Verumtamen laudamus et benedicimus Dominum, quod vos in fide catholica, et in devotione sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, quae omnium Ecclesiarum caput est, et magistra a Domino constituta super omnes alias Ecclesias coelesti privilegio obtinet principatum, immobili firmitate persistitis, et Christianae religionis vinculum et unitatem servatis.

Such statements of the Church's supremacy were found alongside the Church's recognition of loyal military service of king or Emperor as service of God and part of the heavenly ordo. Odo of Deuil said of the Bishop of Langres<sup>167</sup>:

... excitavit mones omnes ut, cum rege suo ad subveniendum Christianis Regi omnium militarent.

Nicholas of Clairvaux quoted St. Bernard's appeal to the knighthood of Brittany to support their superiors in the holy task of the Crusade<sup>168</sup>:

... decet vos ... cum primis ad tam sanctum opus accedere, et armatos ascendere ad serviendum Deo viventi.

Feudal support for one's earthly liege lord in battle against the enemies of Christendom was service of God similar to that rendered by knights in the imperial holy war tradition, for the chain of responsibility ran from God indirectly by way of one's superior monarch, in the same way as the chain of military service. The Crusades provoked a situation in which Christian chivalry broke away from its allegiance to theocratic principles of leadership, and came to serve the heavenly leader directly, but this break in allegiance was prepared by the shift in emphasis of the relationship between knight and God. The



Reformed Papacy had emphasised the imperial nature of the heavenly ruler to whom every Christian owed allegiance, because in this way the supremacy of the heavenly Emperor and of the Pope as successor to St. Peter could be stressed in the face of the earthly Emperor's claim to leadership of Christendom<sup>169</sup>. This view of God as imperator coelestis can be traced to the beginnings of Christianity, when the Christian religion found itself competing with the cult of the Roman Emperors<sup>170</sup>. The figure of God as military leader had also been prevalent in the Christian religion since the christianisation of the Frankish tribes<sup>171</sup>, and an interpretation of the relationship between knight and God in feudal terms was a natural reflection of the feudal bonds between knight and military leader. References in MHG literature to both feudal and heavenly liege lord using the same terminology indicate not only the extent of this development, but also the parallelism of medieval political and religious allegiance<sup>172</sup>. The Church's reference to all Christian life in military terms, together with the extension of meaning from the ascetic peaceful miles Christi, combatting evil on the spiritual level, to the warlike miles Christi, fighting physically against the enemies of Christendom<sup>173</sup>, paved the way for the view of Christ as the knight's liege lord to whom he owed military service in return for spiritual (and at times material) reward. Baptism was regarded metaphorically as becoming a true soldier of Christ<sup>174</sup>, and feudal terminology was adopted in MHG for this relationship between Christian and God: thus in the Annolied<sup>175</sup> reference is made to becoming Christ's vassal<sup>176</sup>:

in der doufe wurde wir Christis man  
den heirrin sulin wir minnan.

73

and MHG sermons commonly refer to Christians as servants  
of God<sup>177</sup>:

... "min vil lieben gebrueder, daz sult ir wizen, daz  
iwer chraft unde iwer sterche, die ir habet an der sele  
hin ze got, unde iwer wistuom, den ir habet an dem  
heiligen gelouben, unde iwer edele, die ir dar an  
habt daz ir diu gots dienestlute haizet, diu ist uns,  
mir unde andern minen huskenozen, zwar vil harte  
unsanfte an chom, ...

This term gots dienestlute is applied to both clergy and  
secular knight. In the earlier Ludwigslied, Ludwig demands  
that all godes holdon<sup>178</sup> follow him in battle against the  
Normans, although his own relationship to God is of a more  
traditional theocratic nature, in which imperial and divine  
will are unanimous. Heer maintains that the use of gotes  
dienstman in the Kaiserchronik is the "höchste Auszeichnung  
für einzelne Kaiser und Könige<sup>179</sup>", and Constantine (Kchr.  
7931), Charlemagne (Kchr. 14909) and Henry II (Kchr. 16166)  
are endowed with this title, but it is also used for St.  
Silvester (Kchr. 10357) and for the monk Eusebius<sup>180</sup>. This  
use is thus not restricted to a purely feudal relationship,  
but also includes the spiritual miles Christi<sup>181</sup>. An analysis  
of the historical and crusading sources, in which God is  
seen in terms of a feudal monarch to whom the Christian war-  
rior owes direct military service, will place this changed  
feudal relationship in perspective.

On the eve of the First Crusade, the opportunities for  
Western chivalry of placing their arms at the disposal of a  
Christian cause were present in Spain, on the Eastern bor-  
ders of the Empire and as mercenary troops in the Byzantine  
army, but the heavenly reward to be gained for such service  
still necessitated the mediation of Christian kings, nobles

or in certain cases the Papacy under whose auspices the knights fought<sup>182</sup>. For the Crusaders, however, God was now their military leader to whom they brought the allegiance of a military vassal<sup>183</sup>:

Deum omnipotentem ducem ac conductorem nostrum appellabamus.

The appeal made to the Crusaders at Clermont is made by God as the highest liege lord, not by Urban II<sup>184</sup>:

Qua de re supplici prece hortor, non ego, sed Dominus ... and God calls on Western knighthood to become his warriors rather than brigands fighting among themselves<sup>185</sup>:

Nunc fiant Christi milites, qui dudum exstiterunt raptores, ... Nunc jure contra barbares pugnent, qui olim adversus fratres et consanguineos dimicabant ...

The God whom they serve, as vassals is no transcendental image or abstraction, but an active protagonist interested in the Crusades as an expedition in his service to free the Holy Land. He is willing to intervene to aid his servants as long as they remain humble before his authority. Thus God first humbles the pride of the Crusaders before delivering Antioch into their hands<sup>186</sup>. The leaders are confident of this intervention by God, as long as the Crusaders remain steadfast in their vows of allegiance and are willing to die for him as they would for an earthly liege lord<sup>187</sup>:

"Potens est Deus de manu inimicorum nos liberare; tantum stabiles estote in amore Christi; ... Stemus, et in proposito viae nostrae in nomine Domini moriamur".

This trust is justified, for God actively joins in the battle to protect his soldiers from danger<sup>188</sup>:

Et nisi Dominus fuisset nobiscum in bello, et aliam cito nobis misisset aciem, nullus nostrorum euasisset, ... Sed omnipotens Deus pius et misericors qui non permisit suos milites perire, nec in manibus inimicorum incidere, festine adiutorium misit.

God is not the only participant in battle on the side of the Christian armies, but he also sends warrior saints as his lieutenants to their aid. These warriors saints, who support the Crusaders in several battles, are St. George, St. Mercurius and St. Demetrius<sup>189</sup>:

Exibant quoque de montaneis innumerabiles exercitus, habentes equos albos, quorum vexilla omnia erant alba. Videntes itaque nostri hunc exercitum, ignorabant penitus quid hoc esset et qui essent; donec cognouerunt esse adiutorium Christi, cuius ductores fuerunt sancti, Georgius, Mercurius et Demetrius.

Otherwise, the support for his knightly vassals consists of miracles and apparently supernatural signs: Ekkehard of Aura tells of the finding of the Holy Lance at Antioch<sup>190</sup> and he also describes the succour given the Christians from the heat before Ascalon<sup>191</sup>:

Nubes etiam ab aestu solis christianos defendebant et refrigerebant.

Similarly, the Cross found by Godfrey at Jerusalem is another example of God's intervention to encourage his soldiers<sup>192</sup>. This intervention extends even to the individual warrior: Albert of Aachen recounts how a Christian knight had fallen from his horse while being attacked by two powerful heathen warriors. God held back the heathen horses to aid the Christian knight and allow him time to remount<sup>193</sup>. The Christian reaction to such continuing aid from their spiritual liege-lord is to give appropriate and humble thanks<sup>194</sup>. Such examples of divine intervention are in part derived from the Old Testament, however, and therefore belong as much in the theocratic context of God as heavenly Emperor as in the feudal context of God as feudal overlord.

God also tests his warriors to see if they are worthy of serving him and of receiving the heavenly reward due to a

dutiful vassal. Ekkehard's account of Arnolf's field sermon at Ascalon presented the Crusader with the opportunity of fulfilling his feudal duty to God by freeing Jerusalem<sup>195</sup>:

... civitatem requiei suae Hierusalem voluit post tam annosa spurcissimae gentis vincula per vestram devotam servitutem expedire.

This motif rapidly became a common one in crusading propaganda. St. Bernard encouraged the clergy and the people of Eastern France by presenting the Crusade as a test and a chance for redemption, although God was powerful enough as a monarch to save the Holy Land himself if he wanted<sup>196</sup>.

Innocent III presented the Crusade as a test of how worthy the Christian warrior was of gaining the heavenly Jerusalem as his feudal fief<sup>197</sup>:

... voluit fidelibus suis occasionem praestare salutis, imo salvationis causam praebere: ut qui omnia pro ipso dimitterent, ipsum omnia in omnibus invenirent. Cum enim Hierusalem civitas illa terrestris, secundum interpretationem vocabuli pacis visio nuncupetur, et ipsa vix unquam vel modico tempore pacem potuerit obtinere, promissio pacis ad illam Hierusalem nos profecto transmittit quae sursum est mater nostra, in qua pax Dei ... abundat.

It was Innocent III who of all Popes saw the relationship of the Christian warrior to God most clearly in feudal terms and, although this suited his view of the order of the world and his desire to bring about the hierarchic supremacy of the Papacy by adopting the feudal social system, it was he who above all saw the Crusade as the feudal duty of every Christian to God the heavenly monarch: "Doch hat sich nur bei ihm eine Vorstellung absolut dominierend durchgesetzt, die vor ihm in dieser Klarheit noch nicht nachweisbar ist: die Motivierung der Kreuzfahrt als eine aus dem Lebensverhältnis zwischen Gott und Mensch für jeden erwachsende Verpflichtung ... Innozenz wiederholt es in jedem seiner

Aufrufe, daß der Kampf um die Terra Sancta, das Patrimonium Christi, nur die selbstverständliche Erfüllung einer Pflicht sei gegenüber Gott, dem der Mensch alles zu verdanken habe<sup>198</sup>. For Innocent III, every Christian had a duty to bring feudal allegiance to God the heavenly king, just as he would for an earthly monarch<sup>199</sup>:

Considera ... quod si rex aliquis temporalis de terra suae dominationis ejectus, in captivitatem forsitan deveniret, nisi vassalli ejus pro liberatione regia non solum res suas exponerent sed personas, nonne cum restitueretur pristinae libertati et acciperet tempus justitiam judicandi, infideles eos et proditores regios et velut laesae majestatis reos damnabiles reputaret et quosdam eorum damnaret suspendio, quosdam mucrone feriret et excogitaret etiam mortis hactenus inexcogitata tormenta quibus malos male perderet, et in bona eorum fideles aliquos subrogaret? Nonne similiter Jesus Christus Rex regum et Dominus dominantium, cujus te servum esse non negas, ... de ingratitude vitio et velut infidelitatis crimine te damnaret, si ei ejecto de terra quam pretio sui sanguinis comparavit et a Sarracenis in salutiferae crucis ligno quasi captivo detento negligeres subvenire?

All Christians refusing service in Christ's name would answer for their actions at the Last Judgement in the same way as an earthly vassal could be called to account for refusing service to his liege lord<sup>200</sup>. To disregard the call for help meant to forfeit heavenly reward<sup>201</sup>. Martin of Pairis succinctly echoed Innocent III's main motif when he stated that God needed the help of Christian chivalry and so asked for it<sup>202</sup>.

Pope Alexander III pointed out that fighting in the army of Christ was repaying the debt of Christ's redemption of man by his Crucifixion<sup>203</sup>:

Cum enim Christus pro salute nostra opprobria multa, et demum crucis patibulum sustinuerit, ut nos offerret Deo, mortificatos quidem carne, justificatos (vivificatos) autem spiritu: expedit admodum saluti fidelium, ut pro ipso corpora nostra periculis et laboribus exponamus, ne pretium sanguinis, quem pro nobis effudit; videamur obliti.

Odo of Deuil presented Christ's sacrifice on the Cross as the final example of feudal dedication, of the lord dying so that his vassals may live<sup>204</sup>:

Sed mori dominos ut servi viverent esset lugendum  
commercium nisi tale dedisset exemplum Dominus omnium.

For Innocent III, in keeping with his hierarchic view of the Papacy, feudal duty extended to the highest secular leaders in Europe, and he called on the king of France to bring the heavenly king the service he deserved and required<sup>205</sup>. Baldwin had shown the same obedience and allegiance on his election as king of Jerusalem<sup>206</sup>, and for Odo of Deuil, the German Emperor saw the failures of his own vassals in terms of their relationship not to himself as the earthly monarch, but to God<sup>207</sup>:

... referre vobis meos casus me non oportet, quia supervacuum est monstrare alicui quod iam videt. Mali quidem sunt; sciatis autem quod inde non irascor Deo sed mihi; Deus enim iustus, ego vero et populus meus stultus.

This feudal relationship of the Crusader to his God extended to the situation of his death, the final sacrifice that a vassal could bring in military service for his liege lord. The death of the Crusader was returning the fief of the soul to God<sup>208</sup>:

... multi ex nostris ... reddiderunt felices animas Deo; et ex pauperrima gente multi mortui sunt fame pro Christi nomine.

The Crusaders should have no fear of death, because they were confident of heavenly remuneration for feudal service in this world<sup>209</sup>:

Idcirco non timemus mortem aut inimicorum impetum, quia certi sumus, post temporalem mortem, de aeterna illius remuneratione ...

Even those material advantages for the Crusaders which were seldom mentioned by Church propaganda, the feudal states

won by the Christian armies from the heathen in Palestine, were seen to be held in fealty to God in the first instance, and only subsequently to the Holy Sepulchre and the Greek Emperor Alexis<sup>210</sup>:

Hanc (sc. civitatem) igitur petiit quidam miles cui nomen Petrus de Alpibus, ab omnibus senioribus, quatinus eam defenderet in fidelitate Dei et Sancti Sepulchri, et seniorum atque imperatoris.

The reflection of ties of imperial feudalism and of the relationship of the crusading knight to his feudal God becomes one of the central concepts of the crusading idea in MHG literature. Imperial feudalism at first presented a problem of prerogatives for Emperor and imperial knight both in the 12th Century reality and in the portrayal of such relationships in vernacular literature, a problem which was further complicated by the concept of redemptive chivalry developing with the crusading movement itself. The medieval Emperors in the Carolingian tradition firmly believed their position to be part of : : Heilsgeschichte<sup>211</sup>. The Empire was God's earthly kingdom over which they reigned as God's vicegerents in sole responsibility for their actions to God, and it was the duty of the imperial nobility to aid them to protect and expand this Christian Empire itself equated with Christendom. Despite the Investiturstreit and the efforts of Gregory VII and the Reformed Papacy, this imperial position was strengthened under the Hohenstaufen Empire<sup>212</sup>. Service by the imperial knights, aiding the Emperor to protect the Empire against its enemies, as in Constantine's edict in the Kaiserchronik, is traditional imperial allegiance which has its place in Heilsgeschichte and is eligible for heavenly reward<sup>213</sup>:



der kunic rihte sînen hof -

Kchr. 8100

...

umbe herzogen unt umbe grâven

8102

unt alle di under in wâren,

umbe alle rîteres namen.

wi ir leben solte sîn getân:

8105

daz swert si umbe gurten,

daz chrûce dar an vuorten

besigelt an dem swerte,

wider des tieveles geverte

die christenhait ze bescirmen und ze

bevogeten.

8110

However much we may be tempted to see Kreuzzugsstimmung in such scenes or in the similar portrayal of Charlemagne's campaign to avenge the blinding of Pope Leo<sup>214</sup>, and however much the portrayal of such scenes may have profited by the fervour inspired by the historical Crusades, in the last instance Constantine and Karl are both acting as vicarius Dei to protect the Christian Empire and as protector of the Ecclesia or Church of Rome. The imperial vassals act out of allegiance to their political and religious leader, whose function it is as head of Christendom to judge and rule over all the subjects of the Empire (Kchr. 14533 ff., etc.). In the same way, the 12 Peers in Konrad's Rolandslied serve Karl as vicarius Dei unto death (RL 130-2). It is Karl's God-ordained task to convert the heathen (RL 55 ff.), so that service of him as God's vicegerent is doubly service of God<sup>215</sup>. Service of Karl, of the Empire and of God seem to fuse in Karl's often repeated formula:

durch des richis ere

RL 1516

tû also ich dich lere:

where daz rîche at times refers to Karl specifically rather than to the abstraction of the Empire.

Genelun's later treachery is seen as a double betrayal (RL 2402; 2409; 8828-33), although he defends himself throughout the Rolandslied with protestations of loyal

service of Karl<sup>216</sup>:

....., "Karle minem herren  
diente ich ie mit eren, ..."

RL 2071

- a service which Karl mistakenly believes Genelun to have performed as his messenger to Marsilie, before the knowledge of Genelun's treachery makes the true nature of what he has done to the Empire as God's kingdom on earth apparent (RL 2843-5; 2895-2900). Genelun's mission is an imperial one - despite his protestations that he owes it to Roland that this task should be imposed upon him, Karl makes it quite clear that it is on imperial responsibility that Genelun is to take over the rôle of messenger to the heathen camp (RL 1427 f.; 1512; etc.). All service of Karl should, however, be subordinated to one aim: the conversion of the heathen which is to bring honour to the Empire (equated with cristinheit), and in this way to bring honour to God<sup>217</sup>:

so wirdit di cristinheit wole geeret. RL 832

and Karl himself in his function of vicarius Dei is seen as an honour to Christendom:

di cristinheit ist mit dir gecieret RL 942

Karl is surrounded by an aura of holiness and any honour bestowed on him or carried out by him is an honour bestowed on God<sup>218</sup>:

....: "nu grüze dich der himiliske herre RL 2859  
unt gefriste alle din ere. 2860  
heiliger kaiser,  
uoget witwen unde weisen, ..."

The scene at which the messenger to the heathen is to be chosen emphasises the honour of the Empire. Olivir volunteers for the task durch des richis ere (RL 1314)<sup>219</sup>; but Karl sees the heated discussion and the general squabbling among the nobility as detrimental to the honour of the

Empire, which it is his task to maintain and increase (RL 1329 f.; 1487-95)<sup>220</sup>. This task of maintaining and increasing imperial honour is showing honour to God and increasing the honour due to the heavenly Emperor<sup>221</sup>, an honour which is essentially evident in baptism and more especially in conversion, as Genelun's stereotype phrases to Marsilie demonstrate:

dir enbiutet der keiser uon Rome,                      RL 2025  
daz du got erest  
unde in die kristinheit cherest, ...

Imperial service of the Emperor's representative Roland against the treacherous heathen who have broken their word of honour, is in view of the close connection of the honour of Christendom, of the Empire and of the Emperor himself, also carried out durch des heiligen Christes ere (RL 4706).

Before the messenger to the heathen is chosen, Karl insists that he be someone worthy of the Empire (RL 1288-92), and yet he refuses to accept either Roland, Olivir or Turpin. There would appear to be a difficulty here for Konrad to explain the exemplary character of the 12 Peers as milites Christi on the one hand, and their unsuitability as messengers for Karl's religious-imperial mission on the other. In the Chanson the Emperor condemns Oliver as being too proud, whereas Roland, Naimes and Turpin are merely forbidden to mention the matter (ChdR 248-51; 259-62; 272 f.). Konrad cannot retain the epithet of pride, as this would clash with his portrayal of the heathen as afflicted by the sin of superbia<sup>222</sup>, but for Konrad, both Roland and Olivir are too quick-tongued for the imperial purpose<sup>223</sup> - a characteristic trait, which can be seen as part of the heroic tradition or as a relic of the warrior virtues more

closely associated with the beginnings of Germanic warrior society<sup>224</sup>. The representative who is to hold half Spain as an imperial fief must be a chosen person (RL 2903-5), and Roland eventually takes the imperial fief in God's name<sup>225</sup>:

ich enphahe hiute den uan	RL 3119
in den drin namen	3120
da wir an geloben.	

The imperial message delivered to Marsilie by Genelun makes it clear that the heathen king can maintain his material honour only as long as he becomes Christian and an imperial vassal:

enphahest du di cristinlichen ee <sup>226</sup> ,	RL 2032
daz dine marche alle mit fride ste.	
er lihet dir halbe Hyspania,	
daz ander teil scol Rolant haben.	2035
unde werdest du sin man,	
so must du wole fride han,	
so behabest du groz ere.	

In the Chanson, this is even more explicit: Genelun's interpretation of the supposed offer of subjugation by Marsilie's messengers to the Emperor illustrates the formal application of subjugatio and immixtio manuum necessary both for feudal obligation and imperial feudalism<sup>227</sup>:

..... go vos mendet li reis Marsiliun	ChdR. 222
Qu'il devendrat jointes ses mains tis hom	
E tute Espaigne tendrat par vostre dun,	
Puis recevrat la lei que nus tenum, ...	225

In the German poem, the heathen warriors are lacking in understanding for the religious nature of Karl's mission and of the participation in this mission by the imperial nobility - they impute to the Christian nobles their own more material heathen interpretation of the conflict in Spain<sup>228</sup>, namely as a question of power and political domination. The heathen interest in a material pact between Babylonia and Orendel in the minstrel epic of the same name emphasises this material interest in the political

subjugation of territory so typical of the crusading period<sup>229</sup>:

"uch enbiedent ab der wusten Babilonie	Or. 2604
zwene heidenische kunige,	2605
of ir uf diser erden	
ir dienstman wollent werden,	
sie wollent uch machen underdan	
daz lant von Ackers biz uf den Jordan.	
wollent ir in des dienstes abe gan,	2610
so sagen ich uch, here, daz vor war:	
so wollent sie mit uwerm libe	
fehten zwene herte folcwise."	

It is noticeable that Orendel later agrees to this demand as long as the heathen kings agree to accept Christianity (Or. 2615-25).

The religio-political nature of imperial service and its place in the Heilsgeschichte is recognised in the Rolandslied by all the imperial nobles except for Genelun. He alone is concerned with family considerations, he alone allows himself to be seduced by the material rewards of heathen flattery and the bribes of heathen gold, and his subsequent defence for his treachery, that he had always served Karl dutifully but his plan had been directed at avenging himself on Roland and the Pears - a feud openly stated in Karl's presence - shows how little understanding he has for the situation. Genelun as messenger to the heathen is representative of Karl (RL 1427 f.), and should play an integral part in the Heilsgeschichte of the Empire, but he is ultimately unfaithful both to Karl's Empire and to the heavenly kingdom of God<sup>230</sup>. The judgement of Genelun differs in Konrad's version from the Chanson. Konrad portrays the judicial duel between Binabel and Tirrich as a iudicium Dei and direct divine intervention to punish Genelun for his crime against God's mission. The Empire has to be purified (RL 8995), and Genelun is condemned to death

in the same manner as the martyrdom of St. Hippolytus is described in the Kaiserchronik<sup>231</sup>. God hears Karl's prayers for justice (RL 8881-91; 8924), and despite the physical prowess of Binabel, Tirrich as the instrument of God's vengeance is inevitably victorious in the duel (cf. RL 8840-3).

It is significant that the moment at which imperial allegiance to a theocratic monarch and feudal ties of a legal sort conflict is also associated with Genelun. Genelun's proposal of Roland as imperial head of the rear-guard on Karl's withdrawal (RL 2929 ff.) is accepted by the Peers and despite Karl's premonition of danger and of the falseness of this choice, the decision of the Peers is final and binding on Karl:

"iz nist durch nehain güt getan. RL 2978  
Genelun, het ir min gesconet,  
uweres dinistis wurde iu uil wole gelonet. 3000  
ir ne getatet mir nie so laide.  
nach der Franchen urtaile  
so muz er iz sin:  
nu beschirme in min trechtin."

This dichotomy is reflected in Karl's cryptic dreams<sup>232</sup>, in which Genelun's treachery, the death of Roland and the Peers, and the final judicial duel are foretold, and the break in the enacting of divine will by Karl is reflected. Karl's decision to leave the rearguard with Roland is a decision taken from the imperial feudal considerations of a ruler's advisory vassi dominici, a decision which Karl cannot oppose without loss of honour:

ungerne rite ich widere, RL 3140  
wan daz ich iz zeuaste gelobet han.  
mit eren mag ich hi nicht bestan.

He must submit to this decision so that his actions are no longer synonymous with divine will, despite continual reference to divine intervention and to Karl's

participation in the divine processes of decision. Karl is still protected by God's angels (RL 7123-6), but his grief at finding the dead at Roncevalles (RL 6965 ff.), his sense of personal guilt (RL 6975 ff.), and the angel's reminder of the duty he owes God (RL 7000 ff.), are still contrary to the original unity of imperial and divine will<sup>233</sup>. It is not until Oigir dismisses Karl's dreams (RL 7463), and Karl is presented with the miraculous cross (RL 7475 ff.), that the coincidence of Karl's purpose and God's purpose is again seen to function<sup>234</sup>. The final unity is achieved in the divine intervention during the iudicium Dei between Binabel and Tirrich, so that the authority of Karl and allegiance to the Empire is restored and the balance of divine and imperial intention regained<sup>235</sup>.

The conflict presented by the ties of imperial allegiance and feudal loyalty or family relationships is also evident in Willehalm in the scenes at Louis' court, but the motivation is further complicated by the conduct of the Empress and Willehalm, placing the Emperor in his function as head of Christendom and liege lord to Willehalm in an almost impossible position. Willehalm not only has family ties to Louis, but by making him Emperor he has become one of the highest imperial vassals of the land (Wh. 145,17). Willehalm's reasons for his journey from Orange stem from personal allegiance and the duty of the Emperor to avenge both the fallen Reichsritter and the wrongs done to the Empire by the heathen invasion of Orange<sup>236</sup>. The treatment of Willehalm by the Empress is a dual affront: she not only offends the ties of family obligation but also of imperial obligation in her words and rejection of Willehalm (Wh.

129,19 ff.). Willehalm's battle-scarred appearance and the heathen armour he wears offends the courtly grace of the imperial gathering, and his steadfastness of purpose causes him to offend the hospitality even of his lowly host Wimar. His physical attack on the Empress is the final step in a sequence of actions offending the zuht of the courtly gathering and the norms of Christian society<sup>237</sup>, but this offence is also against his imperial sovereign and is all the greater because of Willehalm's own imperial authority and standing. Willehalm has fought as an imperial vassal of Karl:

.....: "herre, swer daz sî,	Wh. 117,1
dem wont des küneges krîe bî,	
dâ mit der keiser Karl vaht,	
der si hât gerbet unde brâht	
ûf sînen sun, derz rîche hât	117,5
und noch die krîe niemen lât	
wan den, die sîner marke war	
nement gein ander kûnege schar. ..."	

and is now the imperial vassal of Louis (Wh. 148,9; 169,26). But his actions are an offence against the authority of the Empire as well as against the imperial authority of Louis personally<sup>238</sup>. As an imperial vassal, Willehalm cannot force Louis to accept his demands:

"woldet ir êrenz rîche,	Wh. 179,21
sô mœhtet ir willeclîche	
mîn helfe gerne emphâhen.	
wil iu daz versmâhen,	
sô diene ich aber anderswar:	179,25
sôst desten minner iuwer schar	
gein der heidenschefte.	
muoz aber ich mit mîner krefte	
iu dienen zundanke,	
sô bin ichz der muotes kranke."	179,30

The difficult situation can only be solved by the Emperor's recognition of the final sacrifice for the Empire rendered by the knights during the first battle at Alischanz, and the process of this recognition is



significantly prepared by Willehalm's relations, including the Empress herself, whose change of heart is due to Alyze's intervention (Wh. 180,20-30). This motif of vengeance for the dishonour of the Christian defeat in the first battle is a deciding factor for Louis' final recognition of the justness of Willehalm's demands<sup>239</sup>:

der küneec was der räche vrô. Wh. 208,7

Even the heathen forces in the second battle see the two-fold Christian motivation of vengeance for wrongs done to the Empire and to Willehalm as predominant among the Christian army (Wh. 343,20 f.). The make-up of the imperial army is significantly kept separate from the armies supplied by Willehalm's relatives, whose willingness to support him springs from a sense of family obligation<sup>240</sup>, whereas the imperial army is motivated purely by the imperial solt<sup>241</sup>:

"swaz ieslîchem sî gelegen, Wh. 184,11  
dâ wil ich sînes willen phlegen  
mit gâbe, mit lêhen, mit eigen.  
ich wil nû helden zeigen,  
daz ich des rîches hant hie trage. 184,15  
mînen solt sol mich der zage  
lâzen geben den werden.  
ich hân sô breit der erden,  
daz ieslîch vûrste reichet dar,  
nimt sîn mîn hant mit gûnste war." 184,20

Wolfram refers to the imperial army as having been delegated to the task by Louis (Wh. 245,22 f.; 263,25), and this lack of a volunteer spirit is of importance for the behaviour of the imperial army in the second battle. Willehalm is elected vicarius imperatoris (Wh. 211,7-22), and the princes all swear their oath of imperial allegiance to him:

"wir wellen des markîs gebot Wh. 212,14  
gerne leisten und im warten 212,15  
und den heiden wêneec zarten."

Service of the Empire under Willehalm's command is service of God in the same way as the Pairs serve both Karl and God

in the Rolandslied, and it is in the name of God and Willehalm that the Christian army does battle (Wh. 300,20-2; 320,1).

Willehalm reminds the Reichsritter of what has long been due to him from Louis - his allegiance as a Reichsritter and an imperial vassal has waited seven years for support against the heathen forces who have been constantly attacking his imperial lêhen (Wh. 298,1-11). Wolfram, however, portrays these imperial forces in a very unflattering light. Their allegiance to the imperial cause is of a kind which is not illuminated by the true Christian caritas which Willehalm demands of his supporters, which every knight swore to uphold when becoming a knight and which was also to form the essence of crusading piety<sup>242</sup>. In a manner akin to that of Genelun in the Rolandslied, the imperial nobility is more concerned with material considerations: Wolfram refuses to name them because of the disgrace they brought on the Empire and on the dignity of their position (Wh. 302,1 ff.; 389,3-9). The imperial mission is forgotten in the face of the heathen masses. They are willing merely to negotiate in order to buy the freedom of the captured Christian knights (Wh. 302,29 f.), and despite the dishonour their actions bring to the Cross, the symbol of their vow and of crusading piety which here mingles with imperial allegiance (Wh. 321,25-7), their arguments to Rennewart illuminate their material considerations, their failing spirit of abnegation and the lack of a true devotion to the Christian cause (Wh. 323,17-324,7)<sup>243</sup>. It is divine intervention in the person of Rennewart:

genuoge under in begunden jehen,  
in waere al rehte geschehen:  
si slüege aldâ diu gotes hant,  
von der si vlühtec waeren gewant.

Wh. 325,1

and their consequent recognition of the saelde to be gained in battle against the heathen (Wh. 331,24-332,20), that brings the imperial army to its senses, and under their personal allegiance to Rennewart (Wh. 329,30) the imperial banner leads the Christian army:

"nû bindet die marter wider ane:  
mit rehte sol des rîches vane  
daz kriuze tragen, dar nâch gesniten,  
dâ unser heil wart ane erstriten."

Wh. 332,21

The allegiance of the imperial nobility and the Christian mission of protecting and expanding the Christian Empire in the sense of all Christendom (here under the command of Willehalm as Reichsvertreter), are again unified under the flag of the Cross as the symbol of both united Christendom and the crusading movement<sup>244</sup>, and all zwîvel (Wh. 332,8-17) and shame is banished before the unified purpose of revenge and destruction of the heathen forces.

The conflict of imperial allegiance and feudal obligation is thus overlaid in Willehalm by two other important conflicts facing the knight in medieval Europe. The military background to knightly society was considerably affected by the less warlike activities practised at the courts of the Emperor and of lesser nobles, so that the warrior qualities so often praised in earlier times were to fall into disrepute<sup>245</sup>. The demands on knighthood by crusading piety also called for a voluntary renunciation of all earthly joys or desire for profit, demands which were to prove too exacting for many crusaders, as such poets as Hartmann, Walther, Rugge, etc., were to bemoan<sup>246</sup>.

The demands of imperial allegiance, involving participation in the Heilsgeschichte and eligible for heavenly reward, are paralleled especially in the Rolandslied and Willehalm in the heathen camp on the purely material level. Marsilie, Baligan and Terramer are powerful monarchs, whose jurisdiction extends to many territories and whose authority is further enhanced by the many heathen kings and nobles who are their feudal vassals (Wh. 9,27-10,7)<sup>247</sup>. But the claims to imperial allegiance by the heathen emperors have no religious foundation in the Heilsgeschichte - the protection of their empire is based on a purely territorial claim to power (RL 3703-5; 7200-2; 7434 f.), and the demands made on their imperial vassals are dependent purely on the fief they have been granted:

"dû treges krône von minen vanen:      Wh. 353,9  
des lêhens muoz ich dich hiute manen."      353,10

These heathen nobles are spurred on in battle by the promise of imperial reward of a purely material kind<sup>248</sup>, and their imperial lehen consists even of the material honour of fighting in the vanguard against the Christian nobles<sup>249</sup>:

"lich mir daz ce lehen      RL 3555  
uz allen disen herren:  
ich han uile gute knechte,  
daz ich mit den da uore uechte,  
daz ih Rolanten erslahe  
unt man daz mare uon mir sage;      3560  
so hastu sin ere,  
und din ich iz iemir mere."

Marsilie, as Baligan's most outstanding vassal, is concerned with the territorial demands of his imperial allegiance and with the material honour of the heathen empire (RL 7415-21), although his threat to submit to Karl's authority if Baligan does not fulfil the obligations due to an imperial vassal (RL 7159-61) is a strange way of maintaining this. Even

Genelun's treachery to the heathen cause is seen in material terms - the Empire Genelun has supposedly betrayed in heathen eyes has no religious connotations but is purely territorial and geographical<sup>250</sup>. The question of a conflict between imperial allegiance and feudal obligation does not therefore arise in the heathen camp, as neither of these ties has a religious foundation.

The principle of service of God seen through the eyes of feudal society is also essential to the crusading idea, but is still associated with allegiance to a theocratic monarch and with the view of service of God rendered by a peaceful miles Christi. The principle of homage or service was expressed by the Latin servitium or servitus which every Christian owed to his heavenly liege lord, and this was rendered in the vernacular literature by MHG dienest and dienen, which, however, have a wider range of meaning than just feudal homage: "das wort bezieht sich namentlich auf gottesdienst, herrendienst und frauendienst; auch speciell auf das aufwarten bei tische<sup>251</sup>." It is in the Kaiserchronik that this wide range of meaning is clearly noticeable<sup>252</sup>. The service of God rendered by St. Peter (Kchr. 3057-62) or by Julian's stepmother (Kchr. 10652-6) is the religious service associated with a monk-like miles Christi<sup>253</sup>. But the service offered God by Constantine (Kchr. 13783 f.) or by Theodosius<sup>254</sup>:

Theodôsîus der hêrre	<u>Kchr.</u> 13643
der diente gote iemer mêre,	
mit michelm flîze	13645
rihte er daz rîche, ...	

is rather the theocratic service by the earthly monarch of his God, in so far as the Emperors are carrying out the divine will. Heraclius is also called upon by God to

regain the Holy Cross from the heathen Cosdras:

"ich sage dir, chunich, wie dû tuo: Kchr. 11179  
 île dû dich gerehten, 11180  
 ain volcwîch muost dû vehten  
 mit samt dem chunige Cosdrâ.  
 daz hailige crûce gewin dû wider dâ,  
 des er got hât beroubôt.  
 daz gebiutet dir von himele der waltinde  
 got." 11185

In this sense Heraclius' campaign is part of the long-lived tradition of the Ludwigslied, for here imperial and divine will combine<sup>255</sup>, even if the Emperor has to be reminded of the virtue of humility by an angel before entering Jerusalem<sup>256</sup>. Nevertheless, Heraclius' speech to the Romans before the battle with Cosdras presents an element of difference in the relationship between knight and God: it is God, the heavenly liege lord, who is calling on his Christian knights for aid which he will repay with heavenly reward:

"nu gedenchet, helede Rômaere, Kchr. 11247  
 daz got selbe des geruochte,  
 daz er sîn dienest an iu suochte.  
 dienet ir im hiute flîzeclîche, 11250  
 er lônnet es iu mit sînem rîche."

The expedition can thus be understood as "Gnade Gottes<sup>257</sup>", for the chance of redemption is given to the Roman knights by God, although the figure of the Emperor is placed in the foreground. The account of the First Crusade in the Kaiserchronik sees the Christian army apparently under the sole leadership of Godfrey of Bouillon. This army is successful in various military expeditions only with the aid of God's own heavenly power, aid which God willingly gives his army as they fight in his name<sup>258</sup>:

"mîn trâhtîn hât ain guoten sit, Kchr. 16719  
 daz er die sîne niemer verlât, 16720  
 swer im ze der nôte gestât.  
 wir soln den weg mit im tailen."

This aid extends to miracles to succour the Christian forces<sup>259</sup>:

ain grôz zaichen dâ gescah:  
die lufte sie beswebeten,  
daz si nehain nôt habeten,  
si trunchen ab dem himeltowe.  
wer solte gote missetrowen?

Kchr. 16735

But the service of God rendered by the Christian army is not restricted to military service, for after the success of their (divinely conceived) mission to free Jerusalem the appropriate Church ceremony of thanks is offered to their heavenly lord (Kchr. 16771-4), although immediately following this, active military service is again resumed:

die cristen mit gewalte,  
ervâhten daz chunichrîche,  
die haiden muosen in entwîchen.

Kchr. 16777

In addition to these various forms of service, MHG dienest in the Kaiserchronik is extended to service at table or in the household (Kchr. 1600; 1608; 1615; 2752; 4498; 10966; etc.), to the marital relationships of man and wife (Kchr. 12147; 12191; etc.), as well as to the ordinary secular feudal relationships between lord and vassal (Kchr. 2121; 4320; 11926; etc.) and between Emperor and Reichsritter (Kchr. 7135; 12864; etc.). The terminology is thus not restricted to the field of feudal social relationships, and the ties of the individual knight to God in the Kaiserchronik are indeed ambiguous. The poet introduces his chronicle as an account of Emperors and Popes (Kchr. 19) and he emphasises the relationship of the individual ruler to his subjects and God seen in predominantly theocratic terms; it is only when the individual ruler appeals in the name of the heavenly ruler for service of his mission, when he promises heavenly reward for earthly service, or when he forfeits his authority as in the case of Henry IV, that the suggestion of an

individual relationship between Christian warrior and God becomes discernible. Silvester promises the reward of paradise for all who serve God in obedience to his authority (Kchr. 9513-15), and Constantine promises the heathen Romans eternal reward if they convert to Christianity and serve their true Creator:

er haizet unser rehter vater, wir haizen  
sîniu kint.  
alle di im gehörsam sint  
di besitzent sîn rîche.  
nû suln wir wider grîfen,  
dienen unserem rehten scepfaere.

Kchr. 8154  
8155

True feudal service of God, in which military allegiance is owed by the Christian knight to the heavenly liege lord, only exists implicitly in the Kaiserchronik; the predominant relationships are those between imperial knight and theocratic monarch.

The idea of the individual Christian seen as a servant of God is a common image in MHG literature but does not immediately suggest the idea of a feudal God or the relationship of a warrior to him in a crusading context. In the Rolandslied, Karl himself is referred to as gotes dinist man (RL 31; 55; 801; 8447), emphasising the special rôle of the theocratic ruler carrying out God's mission. But Bishop Turpin also states his claim to be a servant of God:

"ich bin sin dinistman."

RL 4405

As a member of the clergy, Turpin is a miles Christi and leads a spiritual battle against evil, but as a warrior he is also physically engaged in combatting the heathen, and as such is an active protagonist in the militia Christi. Turpin thus combines the active service of God with the passive miles Christi incorporated by Bishop Johannes<sup>260</sup>, who rejects the catharsis he sees to exist in the warrior's



combatting of the heathen:

"ich wil gerne", sprach er, "būzen  
swaz ich wieder got han getan. RL 1072  
ich hup mich uz in gotes namen;  
ich ne wil die uurech nicht chrump machen. 1075  
maechte ich gotes dienestes icht geschaphen,  
den tuvel geschenden,  
ir mūle uñ ir olbenden  
en rūche ich nicht mere  
wider der armen sele. 1080

Similarly, King Oswald leads an ascetic, almost monk-like existence (WOsw. 442-8; 1338-43), and yet on the invasion of the heathen forces he is actively engaged in combatting them (WOsw. 1240 ff.). God also intervenes to aid his servant and to allow Spange and Oswald to escape, and later to bring about the heathen conversion (WOsw. 1220 ff.; 1258 ff.). These instances of service of God by a Christian, in the sense of a contemplative life or by means of service of the secular sovereign, exist in MHG literature alongside instances of a feudal God, to whom the Christian knight owes active military service on this earth in the same sense as crusading chronicles presented the relationship between crusading knight and God.

In the Rolandslied, Konrad also uses the epithet gotes dinist man to refer to the Christian warriors in general, and by linking their military bravery with criticism of the heathen battle preparations<sup>261</sup>, lifts this epithet onto a high exemplary level:

Do uachten di waren gotes dinist man, RL 4101  
soz guten knechten wol gezam.  
haiden di gesellen  
pliesen ze geuelle,  
sam si tiër iageten. 4105

At the same time, the Christian warriors are also imperial vassals, and their mission, the imperial mission and God's mission are synonymous:

Do uachten wol des kaiseres man  
so iz guten knechten wol gezam.

RL 4517

In Herzog Ernst, Ernst's vassals show personal loyalty to their secular lord by following him to the Holy Land<sup>262</sup>, but they are simultaneously serving God<sup>263</sup>:

Si bereiten sich übers meres fluot.  
des fröut sich manic helt guot  
die ouch gote dienen wolden,  
daz sie mit im varn solden.

HE 1887

1890

In Orendel, Orendel's vassals follow their secular leader in his quest to gain a bride, but they set forth in God's name<sup>264</sup>:

er sprach: "wa sint herzoge, graven  
und dienstman,  
die durch got und des heiligen grabes ere  
mit mir farent uber den wilden sewe?"

Or. 300

Orendel unambiguously declares himself to be no other person's vassal but God's<sup>265</sup>:

"ich enwart sin nie eigen  
noch mannes uf erden keines  
ane allein godes des vil guden  
und siner kuniclichen muder."

Or. 1497

1500

and this is in direct parallel with Olivir's words to Falsaron in the Rolandslied:

"ich han wider minen schephare gelobet,  
daz ich nehainer slachte uoget  
wider in niemmir gewinne."

RL 4251

Orendel is continually aided by his heavenly liege lord, and the Virgin Mary intercedes with Christ for his servant whose whole purpose is undertaken in Christ's name<sup>266</sup>:

sie sprach: "drut sun vil guder,  
hilf dem kunige Orendel uz noden.  
drut sun, lieber here,  
durch dines heiligen grabes ere,  
durch des willen er sich hat uz gehaben,  
drut sun, du salt ez ime nit versagen."

Or. 1398

1400

and Christ sends his three warrior angels to aid Orendel in battle<sup>267</sup>:

do sante ime Krist von himele Or. 1406  
dri engel balde hernidere,  
den vil heiligen engel here,  
den guden sant Gabriele,  
und den guden sant Raphael 1410  
und den guden sant Michael.  
die heiligen dri engel  
furten dri swert in iren henden.  
sie sprachen: "horstu kunic Orendel,  
uns hat got und sin muoder zu dir gesendet, 1415  
daz wir dich ane allen zwivel  
sullen behuden in allem volcwise."

Orendel is allowed little personal choice in his decisions, but has to subordinate himself to the divine will of his heavenly lord<sup>268</sup>. In the Munich version of the Oswald legend, the Christian king is, like Orendel, governed from the start by his allegiance to the heavenly prince (MOsw. 29-34; 41; 73 f.; 3516-19; 3524 f.; cf. WOsw. 1112-16). Oswald's mission, closely associated with the theme of Brautwerbung, is the conversion of the heathen forces under Pamige's father Aron, in which he succeeds after defeating the heathen forces in battle with God's aid in the form of miracles (MOsw. 2725-2943). The clearest expression of feudal allegiance to the heavenly liege lord is made by the dead heathen warriors after their miraculous resurrection:

"an Mâhmeten gelouben wir niemer mêre: MOsw. 3024  
er mac nieman bigestân: 3025  
wir wellen an Jêsum Krist gelouben hân,  
deme wellen wir dienen vür eigen,  
dermac uns wol hilfe erzeigen!"

After a further miracle, Aron admits the superiority of the Christian God and accepts baptism and allegiance to him (MOsw. 3105-12). Graf Rudolf is also willing to serve his heavenly lord by undertaking an expedition to the Holy Land in God's name, and his allegiance is to Christ and the Virgin Mary, even if he is called to this expedition by the Pope<sup>269</sup>:

er sprach "here, durch dine gute  
helf mir wider minen vater,  
daz er wolle mir gestaten  
daz ich dir da muze dienen  
durch diner muter liebe,  
here himelische got, ..."

GR 13

15

In König Rother, this same allegiance to a feudal God is recommended to Rother by Count Berter of Meran, whose son had sworn allegiance to God in battle against the Hungarian tribes (Roth. 472-6).

This service of a feudal God is often seen in a strictly formal light: the heavenly liege lord demands the service due to him by reason of the legal contract between vassal and lord - a contract entered into by the Christian knight on baptism and again on becoming a knight. Thus Walther von der Vogelweide maintains that even the Emperor is called through his own lips by God:

Hêr keiser, ich bin frônebote  
und bring iu boteschaft von gote.  
ir habt die erde, er hât daz himelrîche  
er hiez iu klagen (ir sît sîn voget),  
in sînes sunes lande broget  
diu heidschaft iu beiden lasterlîche.  
ir muget im gerne rihten: ....

L 12,6

12,10

God, as voget of heaven, will aid his servant on earth in this task:

er hiez iu sagen wie erz verschulden  
welle:  
nû lât in zuo iu pflihten.  
er rihtet iu da er voget ist, ...

L 12,14

12,15

And the Emperor is to allow nothing to hinder him in fulfilling this mission (L 10,20 f.). Not only the Emperor, but also every Christian knight is bound to put his arms at the disposal of the heavenly lord; refusal of this demand is unthinkable and punishable by God's anger, but acceptance promises heavenly reward as well as fame and honour in this world. Both Hartmann von Aue and Heinrich

von Rugge express these sentiments quite clearly:

swes schilt ie was zer werlt bereit	<u>MF</u> 210,3
ûf hôhen prîs,	
ob er den gote nû verseit,	210,5
der ist niht wîs.	

and:

swer im niht gerne dienen wil,	<u>MF</u> 96,13
der ist verlorn:	
wan sîn zorn	96,15
vîl harte ergân muoz über in.	

In Herzog Ernst, the Christian prince's decision to undertake an expedition to the Holy Land is seen as God influencing his servant in a feudal context (HE 1837-9), and in the Rolandslied, despite Karl's personal relationship to God as theocratic monarch<sup>270</sup>, the heavenly Emperor also demands service as repayment for the fief of life he has given each individual Christian<sup>271</sup>:

"ia hat iu got hie gegeben	<u>RL</u> 91
ein uil uolliclichez lebin;	
daz hat er umbe daz getan,	
sin dinist wil er da uon han,	
swer durch got arbeitet,	95
sin lon wirt ime gereitet,	
da der keiser allir hiemele	
uorderet hin widere,	
daz er iu uirlihin hat, ..."	

Hartmann von Aue expresses the same sentiments of the Christian life being a fief<sup>272</sup>:

Nû zinsent, ritter, iuwer leben	<u>MF</u> 209,37
und ouch den muot	
durch in der iu dâ hât gegeben	210,1
lîp unde guot.	

In Konrad's Rolandslied, the Christian knights are required to sacrifice their lives to God in return for which, as di uil wol uz erwelten (RL 4975), they can be certain of heavenly reward:

"Richart der alte	<u>RL</u> 7817
got hat dich im selbe behalten,	
er uorderot dich an den strit:	
geopherostu im den lip,	7820

sone gescach ni nimen baz.  
fur war sage ich dir daz:  
dich enphahent di engel mit sange."

RL 7821

In this sense, the Christian knights return their lives to their Saviour:

da si den gaist wider gaben  
ir urlosare,  
ir tot ist ture unt mare..

RL 3276

and, like Anseis, repay the debt that Christ paid by redeeming mankind on the Cross<sup>273</sup>:

"er ist selbe der scolare min."

RL 4708

Konrad can thus refer to the Christian warriors as servants of God (RL 5120-7), and a good vassal of God does not falter in battle until he has brought the final sacrifice<sup>274</sup>:

gutem uassale  
nemas nicht gewerren.

RL 6630

The final act of service by such vassals before death is to pray for forgiveness, for the salvation of their souls, and for the salvation of their earthly companions<sup>275</sup>. It remains for Roland, with his last breath before he too brings the last sacrifice to his heavenly lord, to return the fief of his life in the symbol of the battle-gauntlet and his sword, and God accepts the symbol, recognising the faithful service by his vassal<sup>276</sup>:

"ich scol uerwandelen daz leben.  
in sine gnade wil ich mich ergeben,  
swaz ich uon im han,  
want ich sin nimen so wol gan."  
den hantschuch er abe zoch,  
in gegen dem himel er in bot;  
den nam der urone bote uon siner hant:

RL 6885

6890

Roland is thus admitted to the company of those warrior saints whose aid was so often sent to the Crusaders in the Holy Land<sup>277</sup>:

mit sent Michahele,  
sente Gabriele,  
sent Raphahele  
frount er sich imer mere.

RL 6920

Divine aid for the servants of God is present throughout the Rolandslied<sup>278</sup>, as is appropriate for the account of a mission that is synonymously divine and imperial, and this aid is available to all who are steadfast in allegiance to God (RL 8566-9). Konrad also quotes the example of Gideon and the Midianites (Judges, vii, 7 ff.) as precedent for the miraculous deeds of the Christian army (RL 5005-15)<sup>279</sup>, and God personally intervenes to succour his servants<sup>280</sup>:

do wolt der himelische herre	RL 4452
di sine wol gefristen:	
ia chom über di cristen	
ain trôr uon dem himel touwe,	4455
ain chûle unter di ougen.	
daz gescach an der none zît:	
sich eriuungete aller ir lip, ...	

Konrad also comments at various junctures that God is responsible for his servants' actions or that he personally aids them in battle<sup>281</sup>. This divine aid, together with the promise of eternal reward, is at the same time seen as feudal reward for earthly service in God's name<sup>282</sup>:

"hiute uergilt man uns di arbait:	RL 5272
wir werden hiute enphangen	
mit dem engelsange	
zu den himilischen eren.	5275
hiute gesehe wir unseren herren:	
da piren wir iemir mere fro."	

The image of a feudal God is most common in the crusading lyric, where the allegiance demanded of the Christian knight conflicts with the poet's earthly love of his frouwe. Hartmann von Aue presents the love he has for God in purely knightly terms; the oath of allegiance he has sworn cannot be broken, and having once been infused by divine love, it is as if he has been captured in battle or defeated in a tournament and set free on parole:

mich vienc diu Minne und lie mich vrî  
 ûf mîne sicherheit.  
 nu hât sî mir enboten bî ir liebe daz  
 ich var.  
 ez ist unwendic: ich muoz endelîchen  
 dar:  
 wie kûme ich braeche mîne triuwe und mînen  
 eit!

MF 218,9

218,10

Love of God, unlike Minne for the knight's lady, is the love to which he must turn, and so obey God's demands to leave for the Holy Land:

doch saehe ich gerne dazs ir eteslîchen  
 baete  
 daz er ir diene als ich ir dienen sol.  
 ez ist geminnet, der sich dur die Minne  
 ellenden muoz.  
 nû seht wies mich ûz mîner zungen ziuhet  
 über mer.

MF 218,15

For Friedrich von Hausen love of one's lady is âne lôn<sup>283</sup>: he maintains that true service is service of one's feudal God who alone can reward the knight properly<sup>284</sup>:

nu wil ich dienen dem der lôn en kan.

MF 46,38

The summum bonum in his life is God who, unlike his lady, is generous in his reward, and for this reason Hausen is no longer willing to serve the lady as intensely as before but only to bring her the respect she deserves and which society demands of him<sup>285</sup>. Service of this feudal God, which is now the main preoccupation of the Minnesänger, must in the words of Heinrich of Rugge be a willing service<sup>286</sup>:

Des lîbes habe ich mich dur got vil gar  
 bewegen,  
 ez waere ein tumber wân, dûht ich mich  
 des ze quot.

MF 102,14

The reward for such willing service is a place in heaven available to all who follow Rugge's example (MF 96,19-97,1). Walther similarly refers to the Crusader as a mercenary of God fighting for the crown of salvation with his lance<sup>287</sup>.





Walther emphasises the spiritual nature of the feudal reward he longs to gain if he were able to participate in the Crusade (L 125,4-9). This reward is also an imperial one, for God is seen in imperial terms:

wê wie den vergât des himeleschen                      L 13,8  
keisers solt!

but such reward means the eventual sacrifice of one's life in this world<sup>290</sup>:

Diu menscheit muoz verderben,                      L 77,24  
suln wir den lôn erwerben.                      77,25

Heinrich von Rugge explains the various aspects of this heavenly reward in his appeal to the German knighthood to involve itself in the Crusades (MF 98,3-12), and this is infinitely better than anything this world can offer:

ûf bezzer lôn stêt aller mîn gedanc.                      MF 102,26

In the Rolandslied, the service of theocratic monarch and the direct feudal service of God are both rewarded by a place in heaven, although imperial service can also be rewarded by material solt and by fame and honour in this world. Roland's offer of both rewards at the outset of the poem (RL 148-55) has parallels in crusading sources<sup>291</sup>, but also illustrates the coincidence of the imperial and the divine mission. At the end of the poem, at a point when divine and imperial purpose come together again after the break due to Karl's fatal reliance on the Peers' decision, Karl as imago Christi promises his servants reward for their service of him and of God<sup>292</sup>:

"ich wil, liebîr uater mîn,                      RL 7691  
daz alle di mit mir sîn  
di mînen willen hant getan:  
di fûre ich selbe an den stam  
da si imir mit frouden sînt.                      7695  
di haizent mîniu rechten erbe kînt."

The coincidence of divine and imperial will is transmitted to God's mortal servants through the Holy Spirit (RL 1161-4), but direct service of God brings the similar confidence of divine reward: thus Roland is confident of this reward in God's service<sup>293</sup>:

"so getruwe ich gote uil wole,	RL 934
ob ich in sinem dinist ersterbe,	935
daz der sele etlich rat werde."	

Bishop Turpin's sermon expresses the confidence that the Christian army will receive the appropriate reward for earthly service of God, with reference to the Parable of the Vineyard, a common one in the Rolandslied (RL 982-9)<sup>294</sup> and in unity of purpose God's reward is open to all who follow him (RL 3455-8)<sup>295</sup>.

In Willehalm, this motif of heavenly reward for earthly labour is not restricted to such epithets as lôn and solt<sup>296</sup>. God has called his soldiers to this battle<sup>297</sup>:

Munschoie was der getouften ruof,	Wh. 19,1
die got ze dienste dar geschuof. ...	
die getouften dolte nôt, ...	19,12
daz ez mit jâmer wart beklaget	19,16
von den gotes soldieren.	

The soul's salvation is divine payment for all those falling in battle against the heathen (Wh. 37,18-28), and every knight can be confident of this, as Vivianz is aware before his death (Wh. 69,3 f.). For Wolfram, the rewards available for a Christian knight in battle against the heathen are two-fold: heavenly reward and the reward of increased reputation and honour on this earth, which leads to Frauenlohn as the aim of every Minneritter (Wh. 371,21-30). Heavenly reward is certainly of pre-eminent importance, but only for those who fall in God's name. For those who live in this world, a truly Christian existence involves a constant

struggle to keep the demands of this world in agreement with the demands of one's heavenly lord<sup>298</sup>. Nevertheless, the reward most often promised before battle is the soul's salvation, as Willehalm's speech before the second battle clearly illustrates (Wh. 322,10-17) and this reward is the true feudal reward for a vassal of God:

swaz der getouften im gereit,	<u>Wh.</u> 363,28
die nâmen von sîner hende	
ûf den gotes solt ir ende.	363,30

4. This detailed analysis of the reflection of feudal bonds and of the synallagmatic principle of service and reward in MHG literature of the crusading period has revealed that MHG poets are far from unanimous in their understanding of the religious, social and political ties prevalent in knightly society. In historical reality, the Church had come to accept the knightly profession as a valid one for Christian existence, and in the Crusades presented the individual knight with the means of obtaining heavenly reward instead of being condemned as robber or brigand in this world and excluded from salvation in the next. The Crusades allowed the knight to put his arms at the disposal of a mission which was divinely inspired and divinely supported by God's personal intervention. God was the knight's highest feudal superior, to whom his oath of allegiance on taking the Cross was seen in the same terms as an oath of allegiance to an earthly lord, so that only in death could such a tie be dissolved. God was all-powerful and capable of freeing the Holy Land from the heathen yoke himself, but the Crusade was a test of the Christian knight's loyalty to him, of his worthiness for the heavenly reward promised to

God's servants and for the salvation Christ had won for mankind by overcoming death in his Crucifixion. By confidence in God's power and in faithfulness to his oath of allegiance the true soldier of Christ could obtain forgiveness for his sins on earth and a place among the martyrs and saints in heaven.

This direct line of allegiance from knight to God arose from a gradual shift in the Church's relationship to the knightly profession and to warfare in general, but it existed alongside and at times in conflict with a more traditional Church view of warfare. In theocratic tradition, the monarch had a personal relationship to God which included a responsibility to expand and protect God's kingdom on this earth. Support for this venture by the knighthood was eligible for heavenly reward, but the responsibility for the justness of the cause lay in the hands of the monarch, and the knight had no direct influence on his salvation. In the Crusades, God called on the individual knight to pay him the service he deserved; in the imperial holy war, the Emperor called on the knight to aid him in carrying out God's will.

This conflicting relationship of imperial feudalism and crusading feudalism is reflected in vernacular literature, especially in the crusading epic, where the sources of Rolandslied and Willehalm are more rooted in the traditions of the imperial holy war, but the concepts used to express the action show a clear influence of contemporary crusading propaganda. Roland and the Peers are at once imperial vassals and also soldiers of God; they serve Karl dutifully by carrying out his imperial mission of expanding the Christian

Empire and converting the heathen, and at the same time they are called into battle by Christ himself as true warriors of God; Willehalm is Louis' vassal, but at the same time he is a true vassal of God fighting in his name<sup>299</sup>.

The development of the feudal social system was a long process, involving the fusion of elements from both Roman and Germanic society. Crusading propaganda, by adopting the feudal relationship of lord and vassal to express its new interpretation of the relationship between Christian warrior and his God, played a considerable part in keeping this social order alive into the later 13th Century<sup>300</sup>.

Crusading literature of this period, while often retaining a more traditional Carolingian view of Christian society, as a form of literature conceived partly by knightly poets for a knightly audience, naturally reflected this religious-political situation in which not only the state but also the personal religious ties of the individual knight come to be represented more and more in terms of the feudal social order.

## Footnotes to Chapter 2

- 1 Cf. Bumke, Ritterbegriff, p. 35: "Das Rittertum ist eine ursprünglich militärische Institution: ..."
- 2 See above, Introduction, pp. 15 ff. For further discussion in this field, cf. H. G. Reuter, Die Lehre vom Ritterstand, Zum Ritterbegriff in Historiographie und Dichtung vom 11. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert, Cologne/Vienna, 1971 (Neue Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 4), and R. Barber, The Knight and Chivalry, London, 1974, and the bibliography in these volumes; also H. Borst, "Das Rittertum im Hochmittelalter, Idee und Wirklichkeit", Saeculum 10 (1959), pp. 213-31.
- 3 Cf. especially Reuter, Die Lehre vom Ritterstand, pp. 123 ff.; Bumke, Ritterbegriff, pp. 130 ff.
- 4 Cf. the collection of essays in Ritterliches Tugendsystem, ed. Eifler.
- 5 Cf. D. H. Green, review of Bumke, Ritterbegriff, MLR 60 (1965), p. 300
- 6 Cf. Waas, Geschichte, I, p. 4; the various campaigns were also accompanied by non-combatants and by hangers-on and foot-folk of a dubious nature, as the chronicles of the period amply illustrate.
- 7 Cf. the central section of Reuter, Die Lehre vom Ritterstand, pp. 41 ff.
- 8 MHG literature makes use of many older heroic attributes such as wigant, degen, recke, etc., when modern translations would often content themselves with Ritter or knight; cf. the proportion of such heroic attributes to the form ritter in Bumke, Ritterbegriff, pp. 32 ff. Similarly, the evidence for a feudal relationship between a knight and his liege lord is further complicated by the often indiscriminate use of such terms as solt and lôn; Reuter, Die Lehre vom Ritterstand, pp. 93 f., and Bumke, Ritterbegriff, pp. 35 ff.
- 9 In addition to the two major works by Bumke and Reuter, much valuable material is to be found in J. M. van Winter, Ridderschap, ideaal en werkelijkheid, translated as Rittertum, Ideal und Wirklichkeit, Munich, 1969.
- 10 See also below, Chapter 4, where the development of a religiously orientated chivalric code - a development in which the Crusades were instrumental - will be analysed in more detail.
- 11 Cf. F. L. Ganshof, Was ist das Lehnswesen? (translated from the French by R. and D. Groh), 3rd revised German edition, Darmstadt, 1970, pp. 1 ff.; M. Bloch, Feudal Society (translated from the French by L. A. Manyon), 2 Vols., 2nd edition, London, 1967, Vol. I, pp. 148 ff.; cf. also Green, Carolingian Lord, pp. 62 f.

- 12 Ganshof, Was ist das Lehnswesen?, pp. 2 ff.; Bloch, Feudal Society, I, pp. 149 ff. - The latter points out the synonymy of the two English terms free and frank at this time, as well as the importance of personal ties.
- 13 Ganshof, Was ist das Lehnswesen?, pp. 2 ff.; Bloch, Feudal Society, I, p. 154.
- 14 Ganshof, Was ist das Lehnswesen?, pp. 2 ff.; Green, Carolingian Lord, pp. 64 ff.
- 15 Ganshof, Was ist das Lehnswesen?, pp. 2 ff.; Bloch, Feudal Society, I, p. 148; Green, Carolingian Lord, pp. 62 ff. The latter is primarily concerned with the epithets relating to the medieval lord, but his work also discusses those features of the Germanic comitatus and the Gallo-Roman clientela inherited by feudalism. He comes to the conclusion that the former institution cannot have completely died out before the rise of feudalism (pp. 504 ff.).
- 16 A typical formula of such a commendation dating from the early 8th Century in Tours is included in Ganshof, Was ist das Lehnswesen?, p. 5. The important words are ingenuilli ordine, emphasising the free nature of the warrior offering service.
- 17 Ganshof, Was ist das Lehnswesen?, p. 9; cf. Bloch, Feudal Society, I, p. 164.
- 18 Later changing by linguistic attraction to the feminine precaria; cf. Bloch, Feudal Society, I, p. 164; Ganshof, Was ist das Lehnswesen?, p. 10.
- 19 Ganshof, Was ist das Lehnswesen?, p. 11.
- 20 For this and the following see Ganshof, Was ist das Lehnswesen?, pp. 13 ff.; Bloch, Feudal Society, I, pp. 157 ff.
- 21 This is in essence the same as the "descending thesis of government and law" based on the theocratic principle of kingship as seen by Ullmann, History of Political Thought, especially pp. 31 f., 54 f.; see also W. Ullmann, Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages, London, 1961, pp. 19 ff.
- 22 Bloch, Feudal Society, I, p. 158.
- 23 Ganshof, Was ist das Lehnswesen?, p. 31; Bloch, Feudal Society, I, pp. 228 ff.; cf. also F. Kern, Gottesgnadentum und Widerstandsrecht im früheren Mittelalter, Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Monarchie, 6th edition, Darmstadt, 1973, especially pp. 221 ff.
- 24 Ganshof, Was ist das Lehnswesen?, pp. 71 ff.
- 25 Ibid., pp. 86 ff.; Bloch, Feudal Society, I, pp. 227 ff. The essence of this bond in MHG times was the concept triuwe; cf. Green, Carolingian Lord, pp. 120 ff., who traces this concept both to the ties of kinship and to the relationship between leader and follower in the Germanic comitatus.



- 26 Ganshof, Was ist das Lehnswesen?, pp. 91 ff.
- 27 The terminology both of MHG and medieval Latin often makes no clear distinction between foot-soldier and cavalry. Both miles and ritter refer to soldiers in general and to mounted warriors. Despite the disparity of usage, the feudal and social connotations of these terms are also undeniable in the High Middle Ages, although there are many objections to referring to a social class of knights; cf. here Bumke, Ritterbegriff, pp. 35 ff., 61 ff., 130 ff.; Reuter, Die Lehre vom Ritterstand, pp. 41 ff., 94 ff.; Barber, The Knight and Chivalry, pp. 17 ff., 38 ff.; Bloch, Feudal Society, I, pp. 152 ff.; II, pp. 312 ff., 320 ff., etc. Cf. also pp. 142 f.
- 28 Cf. Bloch, Feudal Society, I, pp. 163 ff., and the gradual differentiation between these termini. The MHG lêhen was correspondingly wide in its meaning.
- 29 The origins of the Reichsfürstenstand in the Hohenstaufen Empire are here recognisable; cf. Ganshof, Was ist das Lehnswesen?, p. 121; Heer, Tragödie, pp. 9 ff.
- 30 This is possibly the type of lêhen about which Walther von der Vogelweide rejoices in L 28,31.
- 31 Ganshof, Was ist das Lehnswesen?, pp. 134 ff.
- 32 Green, Carolingian Lord, pp. 64 f., differentiates between the reciprocity and military foundation of this association in the Germanic comitatus and the authoritarian and social nature of the Gallo-Roman patronatus. Merovingian feudalism tended at times towards the one, at times towards the other form (cf. Ibid., p. 114).
- 33 Ganshof, Was ist das Lehnswesen?, pp. 7, 19 ff., etc.
- 34 Green, Carolingian Lord, p. 76.
- 35 Ibid., pp. 80 ff. Green sees the two-fold origin of Frankish feudalism in the Roman name and Germanic gesture of the feudal commendatio, although the Germanic origin of the joining of hands is doubtful (p. 90).
- 36 Bloch, Feudal Society, I, p. 150; Ganshof, Was ist das Lehnswesen?, pp. 4 ff.
- 37 Green, Carolingian Lord, pp. 82 ff. - This terminus is of interest for its later usage in fidelis regis and fidelis Christi or Dei. (See pp. 144 f., and note 48 below).
- 38 Ibid., p. 86, and note 7; Bloch, Feudal Society, I, pp. 150 and 155.
- 39 Ganshof, Was ist das Lehnswesen?, pp. 23 ff.
- 40 Bloch, Feudal Society, I, pp. 159 f.

- 41 Reuter, Die Lehre vom Ritterstand, pp. 56 ff.; Bumke, Ritterbegriff, p. 50, sees the term miles as referring to "der Krieger schlechthin, unabhängig von Rang und Bewaffnung", whereas Reuter (p. 58) quotes two cases from Otto of Freising's Gesta Friderici of a miles as a princely vassal. The importance of this usage of miles is not so much the social class of the person referred to as the legal status involved.
- 42 Ganshof, Was ist das Lehnswesen?, p. 24.
- 43 Ibid., pp. 62 ff.
- 44 For the above, see Ibid., pp. 178 f.
- 45 See above, Chapter 1, pp. 68 f.
- 46 Cf. Heer, Aufgang, pp. 116 ff.
- 47 Cf. Steinbüchel, Vom Menschenbild des christlichen Mittelalters, p. 25.
- 48 Cf. H. Helbig, "Fidelis Dei et Regis, Zur Bedeutungsentwicklung von Glaube und Treue im hohen Mittelalter", AfK 33 (1951), pp. 275-306. The development of meaning in the term fidelis through the Roman Republic, the christianisation of Europe and the influence of Germanic ethos on medieval political theology, in association with the Carolingian view of the state as civitas Dei, culminates in this dual relationship: "Die fideles Dei sind ja zugleich fideles regis, seitdem der König als vicarius Dei die irdischen Rechte Gottes wahrnimmt; Glaube an Gott ist zugleich Treue gegen den König: Glaube und Treue werden in eins gesetzt." (Ibid., pp. 288 f.).
- 49 MGH Cap. II, Nr. 196, c.38: quoted in Helbig, art.cit.sup., p. 280.
- 50 Helbig, art.cit.sup., pp. 288 f.
- 51 See above, Chapter 1, pp. 77 f.
- 52 Von Harnack, Militia Christi, pp. 13 ff.; Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 10.
- 53 Cf. Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 12 f., and note 24; the quotation from the life of St. Martin makes this total rejection of temporal warfare quite clear:  
"Christi ego miles sum, pugnare mihi non licet."  
See also von Harnack, Militia Christi, p. 6, note 1: baptism is seen as becoming a true soldier:  
"Qui baptizatus est, cum ab episcopo sacro chrismate ungitur ... novae virtutis robore firmior adque adeo perfectus miles esse incipit."
- 54 Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 64 ff.
- 55 Cf. Waas, Geschichte, I, pp. 38 ff.; Rousset, Les Origines, p. 16, dismisses A. Hatem (Les poèmes épiques des croisades, genèse, historicité, localisation, Paris, 1932), as one of

the main supporters of the "thèse clunisienne" for the origin of crusading thought and the involvement of the warrior aristocracy.

56 Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 52 f. and 63.

57 Ibid., p. 63; Waas, Geschichte, I, p. 38. This tradition of a life of asceticism taken up by the warrior aristocracy is also reflected by characters in various MEG works, e. g. Trevrizent in Parzival, St. Oswald in the Munich and Vienna versions, Rother at the end of König Rother, Orendel and Bride at the end of Orendel, etc.

58 Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 53 ff.

59 For this and the following, see ibid., pp. 56 ff. Cf. also Villey, La Croisade, pp. 46 f.

60 Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 56 ff. The clergy are nevertheless forbidden to carry weapons even during the Crusades, although the founding of the knightly orders brought about a compromise.

61 The reference here to "warrior class" should not prejudice a discussion concerning the existence or non-existence of a Ritterstand - I use the term as a collective epithet for all those involved in mounted warlike activity, irrespective of any social distinction between aristocracy and common knight.

62 Cf. Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 72 ff.; Bumke, Ritterbegriff, pp. 101 ff. Examples of formulae for the Ritterweihe or Schwertleite are contained in A. Franz, Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter, Freiburg i. Br., 1909, reprinted Graz, 1960, Vol. II, pp. 289 ff.

63 Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 73; Franz, Die kirchlichen Benediktionen, II, pp. 301 ff.

64 Taken from Codex monacensis latinus 6425, quoted in Franz, Die kirchlichen Benediktionen, II, p. 293 and Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 330. Cf. also below, Chapter 4.

65 Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 77.

66 Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 107 ff.; 134 ff.; 185 ff. Cf. also Barber, The Knight and Chivalry, p. 217.

67 Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 108.

68 Ibid., pp. 110 ff. Cf. Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, pp. 42 ff., who quotes from Vita Leonis Papae:

"Et quoniam pro amore Christi afflictataeque gentis liberatione devotam mortem voluerunt subire, multiplicibus revelationibus monstravit (sc. papa), eos divina gratia in coelesti regno pereniter gaudere; nam et ipsi diversis modis sese ostenderunt Christi fidelibus, dicentes, se non esse lugendos exequiis funebribus, immo in superna gloria sanctis conjunctos Martyribus"

and from the OF Ystoire de li Normant by Amatus of Montecassino:

"Et Leo pape ... lor promet à doner absolution de lor péchiéz, ..."

Cf. also Rousset, Les Origines, pp. 46 f.

- 69 Cf. K. Jordan, Das Eindringen des Lehnswesens in das Rechtsleben der römischen Kurie, Darmstadt, 1971 (reprinted from Archiv für Urkundenforschung, 12 (1931), pp. 13-110), pp. 58 f. and note 5.
- 70 Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 117 ff.; Rousset, Les Origines, pp. 36 ff.; Jordan, Das Eindringen des Lehnswesens, pp. 59 ff.
- 71 Jordan, Das Eindringen des Lehnswesens, p. 60.
- 72 Ibid., pp. 60 ff.; Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 117 ff.
- 73 Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 121, points out, however, that in Robert Guiscard's oath of 1059 mention is made of a future military campaign against the Moslem forces in Sicily, the territory of which Robert was to hold as fief of God and St. Peter; here the idea of a holy war and aggressive warfare against the heathen are for the first time at least implicitly combined.
- 74 Ibid., pp. 120 ff. Erdmann dismisses the importance of the Constantinian Donation at this early stage, although he admits that Gregory VII saw the justification for papal adoption of imperial privileges in this famous forgery (pp. 173 ff.). It is significant that the papal claim to more secular authority came to a head at the moment of increasing political tension between Empire and Papacy.
- 75 E. g. the campaigns of the Normans in Sicily (Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 121), the co-operation of Papacy and knight-hood in Spain leading to the capture of Barbastro (ibid., pp. 124 ff.), and the papal support of the Pataria and the pious figure of Erlembald in Milan against the Simonite clergy (ibid., pp. 128 ff.).
- 76 Ibid., p. 161.
- 77 He is understood to have been associated with the Norman pact under Nicolas II (Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 136), and with the struggles against Cadulus (ibid., pp. 137 f.), the papal support for William of Normandy's invasion of England and his subsequent holding of the territory as a papal fief (ibid., pp. 139 f.) and a Spanish campaign under Eble of Roucy (ibid., pp. 140 f.) during the papacy of Alexander II.
- 78 Ibid., pp. 145 ff.; Jordan, Das Eindringen des Lehnswesens, pp. 64 f.
- 79 Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 147 ff.
- 80 Rousset, Les Origines, pp. 31 ff., 50 ff.; Jordan, Das Eindringen des Lehnswesens, pp. 65 f.; Villey, La Croisade,

- pp. 70 ff.; Mayer, Geschichte, p. 26.
- 81 Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 149.
- 82 Cf. Rousset, Les Origines, pp. 51 ff.; Waas, Geschichte, I, pp. 62 f.; also P. Riant, Inventaire des lettres historiques des Croisades, Archives de l'Orient latin, Vol. I, Paris, 1881, pp. 60 f. In this sense, Gregory's plans would be just as much part of the holy war tradition as the similarly disputed appeal by Bruno of Querfurt in his letter to Henry II; cf. above, Chapter 1, p. 79 and notes 82 f..
- 83 Ullmann, Principles, pp. 56 ff.
- 84 Cf. Ibid., pp. 76 ff.
- 85 Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, pp. 54 ff.
- 86 Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 186 f.
- 87 Ibid., pp. 188 ff.
- 88 E. g. his demand of a feudal oath of loyalty from William of Normandy after his invasion of England, cf. ibid., pp. 172 f.
- 89 Jordan, Das Eindringen des Lehnswesens, p. 71. Cf. also Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 194 ff.
- 90 Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 193.
- 91 Ibid., p. 211.
- 92 Ibid., pp. 212 f.
- 93 Ibid., pp. 214 ff.
- 94 Ibid., pp. 227 f. N. B. in this context the question of war against the heathen remained in the background, as Anselm of Lucca was primarily concerned with the theoretical support for Gregory VII's position in face of the imperial claims of Henry IV.
- 95 Ibid., p. 232, note 97; cf. W. Berschin, Bonizo von Sutri, Leben und Werk, Berlin/New York, 1972 (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters, 2), pp. 41 f.; Berschin does not exclude the possibility that Bonizo may have understood his Liber ad amicum also as a guide for a miles sancti Petri (p. 42).
- 96 Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 232 f.
- 97 Ed. E. Perels, Berlin, 1930 (Texte zur Geschichte des römischen und kanonischen Rechts im Mittelalter, I).
- 98 Cf. Berschin, Bonizo von Sutri, p. 62; the implications on the level of moral theology - the importance of the accusation of superbia directed at both the enemies of regnum and sacerdotium, and at the papal and imperial claims to authority during the Investiturstreit - are not to be

underestimated; cf. Hempel, Übermuot, pp. 96 ff. Thus Gregory VII had excommunicated Henry IV quia contra ecclesiam inaudita superbia insurrexit and pro sua superbia, inobedientia et falsitate, whereas the anti-king Rudolf was praised pro sua humilitate, obedientia et veritate (Hempel, Übermuot, p. 98, note 7).

- 99 Ganshof, Was ist das Lehnswesen?, pp. 6, 13; Bloch, Feudal Society, I, pp. 258 f.
- 100 Bonizo, in the tradition of St. Augustine and Gregory the Great, sees obedientia, humilitas filia as Prima ac principalis Christianorum virtus (Liber de vita christiana, II, 2 (Perels, p. 34, ll. 16 ff.)): cf. G. Meissburger, "De Vita Christiana, Zum Bild des christlichen Ritters im Hochmittelalter", DÜ 14 (1962), pp. 31 ff.; cf. also Hempel, Übermuot, pp. 13 ff., et passim.
- 101 Liber de Vita Christiana, II, 3 (Perels, p. 35, ll. 8-10); cf. Meissburger, DÜ 14 (1962), pp. 31 ff., and Berschin, Bonizo von Sutri, pp. 114 f.
- 102 Ibid., III, 37 (Perels, p. 83, ll. 24 f.).
- 103 Cf. Reuter, Die Lehre vom Ritterstand, pp. 139 f.; Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 5 f., and 330 ff. (note 11).
- 104 Liber de Vita Christiana, VII, 28 (Perels, p. 248, ll. 28 f.)
- 105 Ibid., VII, 28 (Perels, p. 248, ll. 34 f.; p. 249, ll. 1-3).
- 106 Ibid., VII, 28 (Perels, p. 249, ll. 8-11).
- 107 Berschin, Bonizo von Sutri, pp. 110 f., and notes 501 f.).
- 108 Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 237; Berschin, Bonizo von Sutri, pp. 17 f., note 65, points out that Wentzlaff-Eggebert, DVjs 30 (1956), pp. 73 f., and again in Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 5 f., misunderstands Bonizo's reference to Quod qui extra ecclesiam sunt nullo iure bona ecclesie possunt possidere (Liber de Vita Christiana, VII, 27 (Perels, p. 248, ll. 6 f.)) as referring to the heathen. Bonizo's concern with heretics attains its true perspective when the above phrase is compared with similar formulations by Anselm of Lucca. The essence of his appeal goes back to the Augustinian compelle intrare, which had long been part of Church dogma, and the above chapter-heading is itself a quotation from St. Augustine.
- 109 Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 250 ff.
- 110 Ibid., pp. 267 ff.
- 111 Ibid., pp. 270 ff. The idea of war against the heathen even decreased in importance at this time on the Eastern borders of the Empire.
- 112 Ibid., pp. 275 ff., 280 ff. See also below, Chapter 3.
- 113 Cf. Gregory VII as papal liege lord of Aragon, ibid., pp. 347 ff.

- 114 Cf. Bloch, Feudal Society, I, pp. 123 ff.; Green, Carolingian Lord, pp. 120 f.
- 115 Heer, Aufgang, pp. 116 ff. See also below, Chapter 5.
- 116 Cf. de Boor, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, I, pp. 208 ff.; II, pp. 7 ff., et passim.
- 117 Ibid., II, p. 7: "Höfisch ist also ursprünglich der Mann, der zur Gesellschaft des fürstlichen Hofes gehört, dann aber spezialisiert: der Mann, der die Qualitäten aufweist, die in dieser Gesellschaft erfordert werden." De Boor is here in danger of failing to distinguish between the picture of society presented in the MHG literature of the Blütezeit and the actual society for which it was written; cf. especially Köhler, ZfrPh, Beiheft 97 (1970); also Borst, Saeculum 10 (1959), pp. 213-31.
- 118 De Boor, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, II, pp. VII-VIII, divides MHG epic and lyric poetry into frühhöfisch, hochhöfisch and späthöfisch.
- 119 Ibid., II, pp. 6 f.; thus the Kaiserchronik, the Rolandslied, and the Alexanderlied are clearly written by clerics, and the great writers of the Blütezeit - Wolfram von Eschenbach, Hartmann von Aue, Walther von der Vogelweide, etc., - all claim to belong to a knightly class, however lowly their actual social position may have been (cf. Parz. 115,11; Der Arme Heinrich, ed. J. N. Bostock, Oxford, 1961, 1-5; L 82, 11 ff., - cf. also for Walther's social position K. H. Halbach, Walther von der Vogelweide, 3rd ed., Stuttgart, 1973 (Sammlung Metzler, M40), pp. 12 ff.). The position of the Spielmannsdichtung is somewhat more complicated, in that little is known of the authors. König Rother and Herzog Ernst show elements of the clerical poet, but the other poets may well also have been members of the knightly profession; cf. de Boor, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, I, pp. 238 ff.; Schröder, Spielmannsepiik, p. 10; Curschmann, DVjS 40 (1968), pp. 635 ff.; also the distinction made by Heer, Tragödie, pp. 108 f.
- 120 See above, Chapter 1, p. 67 and note 23.
- 121 Cf. Heer, Aufgang, pp. 116 ff.; Waas, Geschichte, I, pp. 6 ff. The Crusades themselves presented the ideal opportunity for the growth of this image of God, in that here military service, heavenly reward and the service of Christendom in general combined.
- 122 Gesta Francorum, pp. 72 f. (X, xxx). Cf. Waas, Geschichte, I, pp. 357 ff.
- 123 Martin of Pairis, in MPL 212,228B.
- 124 Hugo and Gerard Munio, Historia Compostellana, Book II, Chapter LXXV, in MPL 170,1132A f.
- 125 MPL 151,483C f. Cf. below, Chapter 4, pp. 315 ff.

- 126 A. H. Lyber, "Feudalism, Saracen and Ottoman", in Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. VI, London/New York, 1950, pp. 210-13 (quotation, p. 211). The decline of the feudal system in Moslem society was due to the rise of a monied class, as was also the case in the West: cf. Waas, Geschichte, II, pp. 256 ff. Also, H. Prutz, Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge, Berlin, 1883, pp. 41 f.
- 127 Gesta Francorum, p. 21 (III, ix).
- 128 Ibid., p. 67 (IX, xxviii).
- 129 Ibid., p. 50 (IX, xxi). Hill's translation points out the adoption here of Frankish terms for a Moslem ceremony (p. 50, note 1; cf. also the introduction to her translation, pp. xvii ff.). Cf. also Albert of Aachen's description of how the feudal overlord of Antioch demanded aid from his personal relatives and feudal partners as well as from his feudal suzerain, RHC IV, 389D-390A.
- 130 RHC IV, 421B. The words of the heathen Kerboga to Peter, who was acting as messenger from Godfrey of Bouillon and Bohemund to the leader of the heathen forces besieging Antioch. This is the same Peter who was supposed to have found the Holy Lance after a vision of St. Andrew, cf. Gesta Francorum, pp. 59 f. (IX, xxv).
- 131 Cf. Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 515B-F.
- 132 Cf. Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 269 f.
- 133 Cf. Die Kreuzzüge aus arabischer Sicht: Ibn al-Qalanisi, p. 87; 'Imad ad-Din p. 198. Although these sources use feudal vocabulary of the West in translation, they nevertheless reflect the analogous relationship between Arab warrior and superior which existed at this time. Cf. Lyber, art.cit. in note 126 above.
- 134 Thus in much of MHG Arthurian legend, the demands of knight-hood are clearly recognisable, mostly ex negativo in the failure of various knights to live up to the standards required: e. g. Erech's verligen, Iwein's untriuwe towards Laudine, Parzival's early tumpheit and later zwivel and rejection of God, etc.
- 135 Schröder (Spielmannsepik, p. 55) sees the crusading theme to this work in the missionary activity of St. Oswald. It is equally possible to see the missionary activity as part of the holy war tradition; Oswald is king of England, God gives him the mission personally and he is the instrument of God's will - cf. above, Chapter 1, pp. 70 ff.
- 136 MHG solt has a complexity of meaning over and above its application to material reward for feudal service. The word also implies a "gift" or "present" (cf. G. F. Benecke/W. Müller/F. Zarncke, Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch, Leipzig, 1854 ff., Vol. 2.2., pp. 467 ff.), and is thus similar in meaning to the Latin beneficium; cf. above, pp. 139 ff. See also Reuter, Die Lehre vom Ritterstand, pp. 93 f.



- 137 Cf. HE 1826-35; 1840-50; 1917-24; 1938-60; 1965-72; 2496-2509; etc.; cf. also the declaration by the Christian knights of their loyalty in MOsw. 2856-8, and Orendel's appeal in Or. 1961-5.
- 138 Cf. also RL 1673-6.
- 139 Cf. Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 253 ff.
- 140 Cf. also RL 1679-82, in which Genelun praises earthly loyalty as the highest virtue.
- 141 RL 191; 931; etc.
- 142 Cf. below, Chapter 4, pp. 315 ff.
- 143 RL 134; 165; etc.
- 144 RL 6435-41; 6742-7; 6976-80; 7496 f.; 7534-6; etc. Cf. also RL 6618-20 where Roland's words are reminiscent of those of Christ on the Cross (Matth. xxvii, 46 and Mark, xv, 34 - cf. also Psalms, xxi, 1 f.), and strengthen the christological element clearly associated with Roland's death.
- 145 lôn in the Rolandslied refers almost exclusively to heavenly reward. In the sense of material reward, the word is restricted to the heathen and Genelun, cf. RL 2338; 2721; 3639; 3812; etc. See below, notes 160 f. and 163.
- 146 RL 3249; 4702; etc.
- 147 Cf. below, Chapter 4, pp. 328 ff.
- 148 Les Textes de la Chanson de Roland, ed. R. Mortier, Tome III, Paris, 1941, p. 38, xviii.
- 149 Cf. above, note 124, and below, Chapter 5, pp. 397 ff.
- 150 E. g. Wh. 410,8; 452,1 ff.
- 151 Cf. also Wh. 13,7-14; 52,22-5; etc.
- 152 Cf. Wh. 95,18-28. Willehalm has family ties even to the Emperor Louis, for his sister has become Empress. Wolfram keeps the two strands of Willehalm's justified claims for support against the heathen forces apart: Willehalm demands aid from his relatives on the basis of purely personal obligations of one family member to another to protect the reputation of one family member and avenge wrongs done to him; but he is also an imperial knight, who had secured the imperial crown for Louis (Wh. 145,17), and the knights who fell in the first battle were Reichsritter, whom Louis had an imperial duty to avenge. Willehalm's loss of temper and his treatment of the Empress confuse the obligations for Louis. Cf. above, Chapter 1, pp. 96 ff. Cf. also for expression of these family ties Wh. 103,13-15; 122,14-123,3; 149,12-30; 150,8-12; 158,1-159,30; 160,20-161,10; 170,7-19; 170,24-30; 171,1-17; 171,22-30; 172,2-30; 238,30; 269,8-11; 299,4-6; 299,9 f.; 300,8-19. Willehalm's unjust accusations of his relatives are also expressions of this personal

- obligation: Wh. 136,22-5; 137,16-19; 138,6-10; 139,26-140,10; 145,6 f.; etc. Wolfram also emphasises Louis' personal obligation to Willehalm: Wh. 166,1-13; 183,16-26; etc. For an analysis of this very important scene at court, see Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 73 ff., and especially 123 ff., for the investiture of Willehalm with imperial power. Also J. Reichel, "Willehalm und die höfische Welt", Euph. 69 (1975), pp. 388-409.
- 153 Cf. above, pp. 156 f., and note 105. See also Bumke, Ritterbegriff, pp. 114 f.
- 154 Willehalm also later offers to reward Rennewart materially in return for his service, cf. Wh. 331,1-20.
- 155 Cf. Wh. 243,1-3; 335,1; 446,19-28; 449,6-13; 464,6 f. The figure of the mercenary knight, who relied on such booty or on feudal reward for his living, is presented in Heinrich der schêtis, who is referred to as arm (Wh. 241,16 ff.), and is paralleled on the heathen side in Wh. 72,4 f. Cf. W. Mohr, "arme ritter", ZfdA 97 (1968), pp. 127-34 and also W. H. Jackson, "Prison et croisié, Ein Beitrag zum Begriff 'arme ritter'", ZfdA 101 (1972), pp. 105-117.
- 156 Cf. MF 209, 25 ff.; see also Ingebrand, Interpretationen, pp. 144 ff.
- 157 Hartmann makes several references to the feudal ties of obligation and affection that he felt for his liege lord, e. g. the controversial MF 218,19 f. and also 206,10 ff., etc. For the feudal obligations of a crusading knight to his spiritual liege lord, see pp. 171 ff. See also Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 196 ff.
- 158 Cf. Malprimes' words in RL 3653-7, where both personal feudal ties to his own vassals and feudal obligation to his liege lord Marsilie are clearly expressed. Cf. also Baligan's words in RL 8012 f.
- 159 RL 3625-31, and the parallel in Wosw. 1163-7.
- 160 Cf. RL 1907 ff.; 2309 ff.; 2540 ff.; 2719 ff. Konrad's use of lôn and the MHG derivatives is almost exclusively restricted to heavenly reward, except for this application to Genelun. Cf. Wisbey, Concordance, p. 258; Backes, Bibel und Ars Praedicandi, p. 154; Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 47 f.; Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 96 ff. On the other hand dienest and other MHG derivatives in the Rolandslied are applied more broadly, to personal feudal ties, imperial feudalism, feudal service of God both as a knight and as a monk (cf. RL 1076), etc., as well as to such functions as the Totenwache (cf. RL 7038), etc. Cf. Wisbey, Concordance, pp. 92 ff.; Backes, Bibel und Ars Praedicandi, p. 131.
- 161 Cf. Wh. 10,2; 30,13 ff.; 33,12 f.; 34,13; 36,26; 84,10; 84,12; 107,17; 336,18 f.; 337,6 ff.; 347,11; 348,6 f.; 349,12 ff.; 363,7 f.; 375,19; 377,23; 382,8; 434,21. Wolfram's use of dienest and its MHG derivatives is wider than Konrad's - it is extended to include Minnedienst,

which has little or no place in Rolandslied, but which is an important motivating factor in Willehalm.

- 162 Cf. below, Chapter 6, pp. 470 ff.
- 163 In this respect, Wolfram's use of lôn and its derivatives differs also considerably from Konrad's use: of the 61 examples in the text (cf. Collected Indexes to the Works of Wolfram von Eschenbach, p. 239) only 7 are used in the sense of heavenly reward: Wh. 166,4; 261,18; 299,26; 309,10; 371,22 and the two references to heathen heavenly reward in Wh. 348,10 and 349,16; to these latter two references it is possible to add Wh. 371,22. The other uses refer to the material rewards of feudal service and Minnedienst. Similarly, Wolfram's use of solt and its derivatives is predominantly for the material reward of imperial feudalism (the exceptions are Wh. 31,13; 37,21; 322,12; 363,30; 371,27 and the use of gotes soldieren in the sense of an active military miles Christi in Wh. 19,17) - cf. here Collected Indexes to the Works of Wolfram von Eschenbach, p. 262.
- 164 Cf. the writings of Bonizo of Sutri; Berschin, Bonizo von Sutri, p. 105: "Bonizo war von der Überzeugung erfüllt, daß die rechte Ordnung der Christenheit nur dadurch hergestellt werden könne, daß der Bischof von Rom so hoch wie ein Kaiser gestellt werde und höher noch."
- 165 Cf. Bünding-Naujoks, in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, pp. 79 ff.; Kahl, in ibid., pp. 177 ff., refers to Bruno of Querfurt's letter to the German king in light of the ruler's duty as "Schützer und Mehrer des Glaubens" (p. 181), and it was the duty of every Christian knight to aid him in this task - tributum accipere et sacrum christianum facere de populo pagano (p. 185) - cf. RL 85 f.
- 166 Pope Alexander III, exhorting the Northern imperial nobility to combat the Estonians, MPL 200, 860C. Cf. letter of Anastasius IV to all the faithful in 1153 or 1154, in P. Kehr, "Papsturkunden in Spanien", I, Berlin, 1926 (Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Neue Folge, 18), pp. 346 f.
- 167 De Profectione Ludovici VII in orientem, p. 6.
- 168 Ep. 467, MPL 182,672B.
- 169 Heer, Aufgang, pp. 116 ff.
- 170 Ibid., pp. 119 ff.
- 171 Baetke, Die Aufnahme des Christentums, pp. 46 f.
- 172 Green, Carolingian Lord, pp. 488 ff., concludes that OHG truhtin, while originally having a secular military meaning, comes almost exclusively in its subsequent history to refer to the heavenly lord and to lose its military connotations. The 27 instances of MHG trechtin in the Rolandslied (cf. Wisbey, Concordance, p. 384) are a clear example of this religious reference. Heer, Aufgang, pp. 133 ff., still sees

truhtin as expressing the Germanic relationship of the Gefolgschaft. Green (Carolingian Lord, p. 514, note 3), also refers to the dual use of herre for feudal liege lord and for heavenly liege lord in RL 6984 and 6991.

- 173 v. Harnack, Militia Christi, pp. 6 ff. See also above, pp. 145 ff., and below, Chapter 4.
- 174 See above, note 53.
- 175 Das Annolied, ed. K. Meisen, Bonn, 1946 (Literarhistorische Bibliothek).
- 176 Also quoted in Heer, Aufgang, p. 134.
- 177 Altdeutsche Predigten, ed. A. E. Schönbach, Graz, 1891, reprinted Darmstadt, 1964, Vol. III, p. 248, ll. 30 ff. Cf. also p. 50, l. 20.
- 178 Ludwigslied 36, Kleines Althochdeutsches Lesebuch, p. 53. Cf. Altdeutsche Predigten, III, p. 5, ll. 7-10:  
     ... do unser herre got Adam in daz paradise sazt, do  
     verbot er im ein obz daz dar inne was, daz er daz mite  
     bi sinen hulden, also mit rehte da ein herre mit sinen  
     holden etwaz sol schaffen ...
- 179 Heer, Aufgang, p. 134.
- 180 Kchr. 13247; 13265; 13283; 13319; 13347. The appropriate reward for this service is a place in the heavenly kingdom, Kchr. 13370-6.
- 181 Cf. also Kchr. 8089; 8158; 8234; etc.
- 182 See above, pp. 157 ff.
- 183 Raymond of Aguilers, RHC III, 299. Cf. also Waas, Geschichte, I, p. 10 and Guibert of Nogent's account of Urban II's speech at Clermont, RHC IV, 140 D.
- 184 Fulcher of Chartres, RHC III, 324 A; cf. also Rousset, Les Origines, p. 60, and Cramer, Palästinahefte 17-20 (1939), p. 104.
- 185 Fulcher of Chartres, RHC III, 324; cf. Cramer, Palästinahefte 17-20 (1939), p. 105.
- 186 Ekkehard of Aura, MGH SS VI, 216, 25-8.
- 187 Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 418 D-E.
- 188 Gesta Francorum, pp. 20-21 (III, ix).
- 189 Ibid., p. 69 (IX, xxix). Cf. the account of the unknown white knight at Antiochetta in Odo of Deuil, De Profectione Ludovici VII in orientem, p. 112; and the intervention of St. George in Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris and Epistola de morte Friderici imperatoris, both in Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I, ed. A. Chroust (MGH SS rer. germ., Nova Series, V), Berlin,

- 1928, reprinted 1964, pp. 81 f., and 176.
- 190 Ekkehard of Aura, MGH SS VI, 209, 42-5. Cf. also the letter of the leaders of the First Crusade to Urban II, MPL 151, 553C f.; also the account in Kchr. 16668-71.
- 191 Ekkehard of Aura, MGH SS VI, 217, 53-218, 1. The proclamation of the Crusade itself was heralded by such miraculous signs, e. g. MGH SS VI, 214, 19-49; 215, 13-16; etc. Albert of Aachen explained the visions seen by the Crusaders before leaving Antioch (RHC IV, 447D-448A) in various ways: as a foreboding of the fall of Jerusalem, as the army of Christ spreading divine love, and as the plague.
- 192 Cf. Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 488 D-E. The striking parallel here is to Karl's finding of the Cross in RL 7475-8.
- 193 Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 418F-419D.
- 194 Cf. Gesta Francorum, p. 70 (IX, xxix).
- 195 Ekkehard of Aura, MGH SS VI, 222, 36 f.
- 196 Ep. 363, MPL 182, 565C-566A. Cf. Ep. 458, to the Duke of Bohemia and his vassals, MPL 182, 653A; also Ep. 467 by Nicholas of Clairvaux to Brittany, MPL 182, 671C.
- 197 Letter of 1199 to all the faithful in Vienna, MPL 214, 833D-834A. Cf. also letter of 1187 by Gregory VIII to all the faithful, MPL 202, 1542A; Innocent III to the Church of Magdeburg in 1199, MPL 214, 828C; Innocent III to the people of Lombardy in 1208, MPL 215, 1501B; etc.
- 198 Schwerin, Die Aufrufe der Päpste, p. 97; cf. also pp. 43 and 63, etc. Also J. Greven, "Frankreich und der fünfte Kreuzzug", HJb 43 (1963), pp. 15-52, especially pp. 25 f., who sees in the frequency of this motif in Innocent III's propaganda an attempt to underline the Pope's claim to be the only vicarius Dei. Cf. also Cramer, Palästinahefte 17-20 (1939), pp. 181 ff.; Jordan, Das Eindringen des Lehnswesens, pp. 79 ff. References to the Holy Land as Christ's feudal kingdom, which it was the duty of the Crusader to regain for his feudal overlord, and the association of the earthly Jerusalem with the heavenly Jerusalem, occupy a central position in crusading historiography and are reflected in vernacular literature in the theme of a Christian erbe. This important theme will be treated in detail in Chapter 3, below, pp. 268 ff.
- 199 MPL 214, 809D-810B. Cf. also MPL 214, 833C f., and J. D. Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio, Paris and Leipzig, 1903 ff., Vol. XXII, 956D f. Schwerin, Die Aufrufe der Päpste, p. 97, note 513, points to the importance of the reference to Jesus Christus Rex regum et Dominus dominantium in the letters of Innocent III, and to the common quotation in crusading propaganda from Psalms lxxiii, 12:  
Deus, rex noster, ante saecula operatus est salutem  
in medio terra ...

- which Innocent adopted with the capital Rex. Cf. Cramer, Palästinahefte 17-20 (1939), pp. 186 ff.
- 200 Cf. Ep. 336 from Innocent III to the Narbonnese in 1198, MPL 214, 310A.
- 201 Cf. Innocent III to all the faithful in Vienna in 1199, MPL 214, 833B-C.
- 202 MPL 212, 227C-D; cf. also St. Bernard, Ep. 364, MPL 182, 569A f.
- 203 Ep. 1504, of 1181, MPL 200, 1295B-C. Cf. the same idea in the account of the 4th Lateran Council (Constitutio 71), Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio XXII, 1062C, and in a letter of 1187 by Gregory VIII, in Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Aevi, ed. J. Langebek, Hauniae, 1783, Vol. V, p. 346.
- 204 De Profectione Ludovici VII in orientem, p. 118.
- 205 Cf. MPL 214, 809C.
- 206 Cf. Ekkehard of Aura, MGH SS VI, 219, 28 f.
- 207 The Emperor Conrad's words to Louis VII in De Profectione Ludovici VII in orientem, p. 98. Cf. note 24 in Barry's edition.
- 208 Gesta Francorum, p. 17 (II, viii); cf. also p. 74 (X,xxx).
- 209 Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 492F; cf. St. Bernard, Ep. 288, MPL 182, 493C; letter of 1213 by Innocent III to all the faithful in Mainz, MPL 216, 817C and 818C.
- 210 Gesta Francorum, pp. 25 f. (IV, xi).
- 211 See above, Chapter 1, pp. 65 ff.
- 212 Heer, Tragödie, pp. 149 ff. The equation of Latin ecclesia and MHG Christenheit is here of importance for an understanding of the imperial standpoint. "Ecclesia, heilige Christenheit, das ist für den Deutschen des 12. Jahrhunderts ein weltweiter, kosmisch-metaphysischer ebenso wie irdisch-realer Begriff." (Ibid., p. 150).
- 213 Cf. Kchr. 8410-13, and see above, Chapter 1, pp. 99 ff. Cf. also Nellmann, Reichsidee, pp. 116 ff.
- 214 Kchr. 14541 ff.; Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 65 f.
- 215 Cf. RL 1297; 1790-5; 1801 f.; 4517 f.; 7768; etc. Richter, Kommentar, I, p. 59, draws a parallel between RL 131 f., and Kchr. 6738 f., - between the relationship of the Peers to Karl and the relationship of the vassals to Adolger - but this parallel is not completely valid: in the latter case the ties are of a personal feudal obligation without the dual religious context of imperial allegiance to the Emperor carrying out God's will. The religious nature of

the Peers' service is heightened by the symbolism of the chosen Twelve (cf. RL 66-82) - paralleled in the heathen camp by the 12 wise counsellors (RL 458) - in which the Peers are seen as postfigurations of the 12 Disciples (and consequently Karl as a postfiguration of Christ); the Crusaders were also referred to as "chosen people of God", emphasising the special relationship between the individual knight and God: cf. Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 58 f., note 130.

- 216 Cf. RL 1637-40; 2051; etc.
- 217 Cf. the similar epithets in RL 15; 965; 6430; 6893; 9045. The use of êre in connection with cristinhait in RL 5190 and 5443 is restricted to the sense of "victory" or "triumph", although this is also carried out before God (cf. RL 8204).
- 218 Cf. RL 939 f.; 1015-17; 1380 f.; 1563-8; 2256 ff.; 2948; 8417-19.
- 219 Cf. RL 1373 f.; 5903; 6022; 6030 ff.; 6976-8; 7466 f.; 7766; 7777; 8816 f.; 8884; 9034; cf. also Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 237 f.
- 220 Bartsch's edition (p. 57) points out that this motif is lacking in the Chanson: "... hier heißt es (ChdR. 262) li duze per mar i serunt jugez; Karl trägt hier also Bedenken, einen der 12 Pairs der gefährvollen Botschaft auszusetzen."
- 221 Cf. RL 907-10; 958; 1152; 5554; 6583; 7907 f.; 8294 f.
- 222 Hempel, Übermuot, pp. 146 ff., and below, Chapter 6, pp. 465 f.
- 223 RL 1326 ff. The difficulty of interpretation presented by RL 1324 - du bist mir ze allen eren uile lib - is apparent in both Bartsch's (p. 57) and Kartschoke's (p. 63) translation, where the implication in both cases is that the rôle of messenger is hardly an honourable task. This cannot, however, be the case, as it is a question of carrying out God's mission to convert the heathen. Richter, Kommentar, I, p. 238, ignores the question, and P. Kern, "Anregungen für eine bessere Übersetzung des Rolandsliedes, Eine Auseinandersetzung mit der Übersetzung Kartschokes", ZfdPh 90 (1971), pp. 409-28, despite his valuable corrections of Kartschoke's version, makes no mention of this error.
- 224 Hempel, Übermuot, passim.
- 225 Cf. RL 3149-51 and 5360-6; in the latter case Roland is something of a vicarius imperatoris, in that the term uoget is otherwise only applied to Karl, cf. above Chapter I, pp. 90 ff. The typological elements of Roland and Ganelun as Christ and Judas in RL 1953 ff. are illustrated by B. Murdoch, "The Treachery of Ganelon in Konrad's Rolandslied", Euph. 67 (1973), pp. 372-7. Cf. also Willehalm's rôle as leader of the imperial army in Wh. 211,10 ff.



- 226 Wesle's edition includes here the more acceptable reading:  
"..... cristinheit ee" (p. 104).
- 227 Cf. Ganshof, Was ist das Lehnswesen?, p. 132; D. D. R. Owen, "The Secular Inspiration of the Chanson de Roland", Speculum 37 (1962), pp. 390-400, sees the secular motivation of maintaining personal honour and feudal honour as the driving-factor for Roland's conduct in not blowing his horn. Similarly, the second battle at Roncevalles in the Chanson can be seen in a feudal or imperial feudal light - "First, Roland's idealism must find its justification in the triumph of the national cause. Second, his betrayal must be avenged on the personal level by the punishment of the traitor who, for his own ends engineered Roland's death, and in doing so broke his feudal contract with his lord .... It remains for the Emperor to annihilate the public enemy and then, in his dual capacity as feudal lord and uncle to Roland, to punish Ganelon and restore both domestic order and family honor" (p. 398).
- 228 The heathen forces are fighting for the purely material rewards of feudal solt or Minne (RL 4719 ff.; etc.), their concern is with the material considerations of honour and their knightly prowess in this world (RL 5047 ff.; etc.), and Konrad emphasises the worldliness of their religious devotion to their gods (RL 3475 ff., etc.) and their concern with worldly splendour in their dress and armour, etc. (RL 4592 ff., etc.). Cf. below, Chapter 6, pp. 421 ff., etc.
- 229 Thus the main theme, apart from the associated Brautgewinnungsmotiv, is the freeing and constant safety of Jerusalem, cf. Schröder, Spielmannsepik, pp. 69 ff.
- 230 Cf. RL 2400-3; 2409; 6091-6100; 8749-51; 8779-82; 8828-33; etc.; Ohly, ZfdA 77 (1940), pp. 196 f.; Heer, Tragödie, p. 151. Genelun is perfectly aware of the consequences of his actions for his own personal salvation, cf. RL 2742-7.
- 231 Kchr. 6352-8. Cf. Ohly, Sage und Legende in der Kaiserchronik, p. 136 and note 27.
- 232 RL 2985 ff., and 7070 ff. Cf. for the relationship of Karl to the Heilsgeschichte, J. R. Ashcroft, The Exemplary Depiction of Character in Konrad's Rolandslied, Ph.D. Dissertation, Cambridge, 1965, pp. 162 ff., especially for these scenes, pp. 167 ff.
- 233 Ibid., pp. 168 f.
- 234 Ibid., p. 169.
- 235 Cf. RL 8988 ff.
- 236 Cf. above, note 152. Protection of the Empire as the earthly equivalent of the civitas Dei is in the Augustinian sense a bellum sacrum.
- 237 Cf. for Willehalm's actions at Louis' court, Reichel, Euph. 69 (1975), pp. 388 ff.; also H. E. Willson, "Willehalm's Unzuht", JEGP 68 (1969), pp. 441-56.



- 238 Wolfram shows his sympathy for Willehalm's actions, which he presents as being governed by his triuwe for Gyburg, but he makes it quite clear that this conduct is contrary to the demands of medieval Christian society and an offence against the Empire. Cf. Willson, art.cit.sup., pp. 451 ff.
- 239 Cf. Wh. 198,5 ff.; 304,6 ff.; etc. Associated with this motif is the pity for Willehalm's relatives captured by the heathen, cf. Wh. 297,23-30.
- 240 Even the Empress now mentions the family ties of personal obligation she has to Willehalm (Wh. 165,18 ff.), although her army is often referred to as Söldner, cf. Wh. 199,24 f.; 323,1-6; etc.
- 241 Cf. Wh. 184,21-3; 186,12-15; 210,4-30; etc.
- 242 Wh. 299,13 ff. Cf. Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 258 ff., and Chapter 4, below.
- 243 Cf. Wh. 326,1-327,9 and also RL 1459 ff.; 1690 ff.
- 244 Cf. Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 30-50, 166-84; Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, p. 130.
- 245 This problem was recognised by many MHG poets, cf. above, note 137 and Walther's Elegie (L 124,1 ff.); de Boor, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, II, pp. 117 f.; etc.
- 246 Cf. MF. 209,35 f.; L 13,7; MF 96,13 f.; and Chapter 4, below.
- 247 Cf. Wh. 30,2-9; 34,11-13; 71,26 f.; 107,16 f.; 319,11-13; etc. RL 2189; 2317-20; 7182 f.; etc. Also the heathen bâruc in Parz. 13,16-14,2.
- 248 Cf. RL 3594; 3619-24; 4676-8; 5450-7; 8026-9; 8114-18; 8171-3; etc. - these are in clear parallel to the offers of material reward made to Genelun, e. g. RL 1908; 1911-14; 2211-17; 2758 f.; etc.
- 249 Cf. RL 5496 f., and ChdR 866.
- 250 RL 5694; 5724-6; etc. Konrad's comment in RL 5478-80 restricts itself also to the material side of Genelun's treachery, as the reference is in a heathen context.
- 251 Benecke/Müller/Zarncke; Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch, for diene, Vol. I, pp. 368 f.
- 252 Cf. Tulasiewicz, Index Verborum, pp. 67 f.
- 253 Cf. above, p. 173 and note 181.
- 254 Cf. Henry II (Kchr. 16166; 16183 ff.; 16195 ff.; etc.).
- 255 Ohly, Sage und Legende in der Kaiserchronik, p. 183; Nöther, Die geistlichen Grundgedanken, pp. 243 f.; cf. above, Chapter 1, pp. 99 ff.

- 256 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, p. 71; cf. the similar situation of the Crusaders at Antioch, note 186 above.
- 257 Nöther, Die geistlichen Grundgedanken, p. 242. In his analysis of the battle episodes in the Kaiserchronik (pp. 236 ff.), Nöther emphasises the sense of divine mission associated with the campaigns of Karl, Vespasian, Otto, Heraclius, etc., and also the leadership of each respective Emperor, but he ignores any suggestion of a direct feudal relationship between individual knight and God implicit in these words.
- 258 Cf. Kchr. 16660 f.; 16678; 16686-8; 16711; etc.
- 259 This miracle is generally accepted to be based on Ekkehard of Aura; cf. above, p. 175, note 191; also Kchr. 16739 and RL 8284.
- 260 Cf. de Boor, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, I, p. 232; for a further study of the figure of Johannes, see also G. A. Beckmann, "Der Bischof Johannes im deutschen Rolandslied - eine Schöpfung des Pfaffen Konrad?", PBB (T) 95 (1973), pp. 289-300, and the literature discussed there.
- 261 Cf. below, Chapter 6, pp. 421 ff.
- 262 See above, note 137.
- 263 Cf. HE 1845; 1863; 2102-7; 2280; 2286-91; 3765; etc.
- 264 Cf. Or. 240-3; 292-5; God is continually referred to as a heavenly knight to whom one owes allegiance:  
dunt ez durch den himelischen degen                      Or. 1618
- 265 Cf. Kchr. 2121.
- 266 This passage is practically formulaic in Orendel: cf. Or. 385 ff.; 814 ff.; etc., and Benath, PBB (H) 84 (1962), pp. 366 f.
- 267 St. Michael was seen as the protector of God's honour on the extra-terrestrial plane; cf. Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, p. 21.
- 268 Schröder, Spielmannsepik, p. 72.
- 269 GR  $\beta$  12-31;  $\beta$  b 22-6; this is one of the few references in MHG literature to papal involvement in the Crusades, and seems to have no other purpose than to reflect the historical reality of the proclamation of the Crusade by Popes and their legates. Rudolf repeats his oath of allegiance to God on the walls of Ascalon, where the imagined support of the heathen by the Anti-Christ lifts the battle onto a spiritual plane and incorporates Rudolf in the course of the Heilsgeschichte (GR Cb 17-21).
- 270 Cf. RL 1796-1800; also Karl's prayer to God after his dream (RL 3054-8); Olivir's prayer to God before his death also presents Karl as God's servant (RL 6501 ff.); cf. Ps. cx, 1.

- 271 Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 46 ff.; Backes, Bibel und Ars Praedicandi, pp. 32 ff. and 160, points out the concordance with the parables of the vineyard and of the talents, Matth. xx, 8 ff.; Matth. xxv, 14-30; Luke xix, 11-27. Cf. also RL 977 f.; 5168; 5400; also Heer, Aufgang, p. 119 and Altdeutsche Predigten, II, p. 170, 19-21:  
 "wir schül'n auer unserm chaiser, dem heiligen Christ,  
 einen so getanen pfenninch laisten, daz wir diu zehen  
 gebot der heiligen e behalten."
- 272 Cf. Walther von der Vogelweide, L 76,33-77,3; Wolfram von Eschenbach, Wh. 97,2; etc.
- 273 Cf. the metaphors associated with "Buying" in MHG literature analysed in Kühnemann, Soldatenausdrücke, pp. 37 f. Also Vivianz, in Wh. 48,10-14.
- 274 Cf. RL 6575 ff.: Backes, Bibel und Ars Praedicandi, p. 159.
- 275 Cf. RL 5260 ff.; 5756; 6185 ff.; 6430 ff.; 6494 ff.; 6625 ff.; 6896 ff.; etc.
- 276 Cf. Ganshof, Was ist das Lehnswesen?, pp. 134 ff. - the glove, etc., as a symbol of a feudal fief; in the Chanson, Roland also returns the gauntlet to God (ChdR. 2373 f.; 2389 f.) and his hands are joined in the symbolic gesture of feudal subjugation (ChdR. 2392), but the question of his sword remains unsolved. In Konrad's poem, Roland leaves Durndart in God's hands (RL 6881-4).
- 277 Cf. above, pp. 175 f., and note 189. Also, L 79,1-5 and 9-16. Or. 820-7; 1020-3; 1406-13; 1696-1704; 2061-9; 2844-50. Wosw. 681-4. Sum 504,1-506,5.
- 278 Cf. W. Golther, Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad (gekrönte Preisschrift), Munich, 1887, pp. 123 f.
- 279 Such Old Testament references are also part of the theocratic tradition, cf. above pp. 174 ff., and Chapter 1, pp. 63 ff.
- 280 Cf. Kchr. 16735 ff.; this was also the customary time for baptism. See also the cooling breeze sent to succour the Christian warriors in RL 5625-8; HE 3842-7; Wosw. 1220-2: which is also a typical motif of heroic literature, cf. Das Nibelungenlied (NL), nach der Ausgabe von K. Bartsch, ed. H. de Boor, Wiesbaden, 1965 (Deutsche Klassiker des Mittelalters), 2058; 2226; etc. God also holds back the sun so that Karl may take vengeance on his enemies in RL 7017-22 - a further Old Testament motif (cf. note 277, above, and Jos. x, 13; Habakkuk, iii, 11), and cools his servants with a light from heaven in RL 8563-5.
- 281 Cf. RL 4651 f.; 4846; 5073; 5326 f.; 7674; 7715-27 (cf. Matth. xxii, 14); etc.
- 282 Cf. RL 3860-3; 7782 f.; the formulaic phrase so helue mir min trechtin (RL 3086) is even used by Genelun after his treachery.

- 283 MF 46,30; cf. Reinmar von Hagenau, MF 181,25; Albrecht von Johansdorf, MF 94,18-20 (otherwise, Johansdorf is not really willing to sacrifice his earthly love; cf. MF 94,25-34, and the theme of sharing the heavenly reward - analogous to Hartmann, MF 210,23 ff. - and also MF 87,5 ff., and 90,9 ff.); Heinrich von Rugge presents the feudal God at the head of the proud army of Christians, MF 98,19.
- 284 Cf. MF 46,31; 47,2 f.
- 285 Cf. Ingebrand, Interpretationen, pp. 35 ff.
- 286 Cf. Reinmar von Hagenau, MF 181,3 f.
- 287 L 125,8; this mention of ein soldenaere can equally be interpreted as a reference to Longinus and the Holy Lance which pierced Christ's side on the Cross - cf. Walther von der Vogelweide, Gedichte, ed. Wapnewski, p. 252.
- 288 Cf. below, Chapter 5, for a more detailed analysis of the reward offered the crusading knight.
- 289 Cf. note by Ganz, p. 73 of his edition.
- 290 Ingebrand, Interpretationen, p. 186, interprets muoz in this sense of necessity.
- 291 Cf. Fulcher of Chartres, RHC III, 324 E; Gunther of Pairis, MPL 212,228 A f.
- 292 Cf. John, xvii, 24, and Chapter 3, below, for the feudal heritage of God's kingdom expressed by MHG erbe.
- 293 Not only does Roland gain the heavenly reward for feudal service of God, he also repays the debt owed to Christ for his sacrifice for mankind (RL 3123-32). As a chosen servant of God, death in his service is the highest reward possible (RL 3885-8; cf. Matth. v, 10 and Luke vi, 22 f.).
- 294 Cf. above, note 271.
- 295 Cf. Psalm cxxxiii. For further reference to heavenly reward for earthly service of God, see RL 88 (cf. Richter, Kommen-tar, I, p. 18); 95 f.; 148-50; 181 f.; 220 f.; 991-9; 1000 f.; 1295-7; 1677-82; 2256-9; 3920-4; 4702 f.; 4947 f.; 4981; 6185-7; 6204 f.; 6572; 7007; 7035-9; 8353; 9019; etc., and Chapter 5, below.
- 296 Cf. above, note 163.
- 297 Cf. note to 19,17 p. 275 of Kartschoke's translation: "gotes soldier als Übersetzung von miles Dei oder miles Christi ist die offizielle Bezeichnung des Kreuzritters."
- 298 Cf. above, pp. 160 f.
- 299 The heathen forces are often portrayed in a similar feudal relationship to their gods, although the heavenly reward that they hope to achieve is lacking at the end of the day: cf. Kchr. 8563-9; 9516-19; etc.; SuM 718,4-5; etc.; RL

2614-18; 2648-54; 2717-21; 4022-4; 7053-5; 8142-8; etc.;  
 Wh. 18,28-30; 34,22-5; 43,3-5; 43,8-11; 44,5-11; 44,20-30;  
 71,23-5; 86,13-15; 86,22 f.; 106,6-9; 107,26-30; 216,1-30;  
 217,29 ff.; 261,12-14; 291,21-4; 292,23; 339,13-15; 349,8;  
 349,16 f.; etc. Cf. also below, Chapter 6.

300 Cf. Waas, Geschichte, I, p. 11: "Wir stehen vor der deut-  
 lichen Feudalisierung des Christentums."

### Chapter 3: The Pilgrimage and the Crusade.

The institution of the pilgrimage to such holy places as Rome, Constantinople and Palestine, or to such shrines as that of St. James at Compostela in Spain, has been popular since the early centuries of Christianity. In particular the long journey to the city of Jerusalem and to the Holy Land, where Christ trod this earth and laid the foundation for his ministry, came to be regarded at an early date as the most rewarding and effective form of pilgrimage. However, the opinions of the early Church fathers were initially ambivalent towards this very popular desire by the lay population to see for themselves the places where Christ lived, and, so strengthened in their faith, to return and live a Christian life in imitation of Christ. St. Jerome and St. Augustine proclaimed the advantages for Christian piety to be experienced in the Holy Land, and the example of St. Paul, who repeatedly returned to Jerusalem after his missionary voyages, was seen as a precedent for this practice<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, the Church's theorists maintained that a mere geographical change of location could only be achieved in the individual's own heart and conscience. Even St. Jerome, while believing that he was able to understand the Bible better after settling in Palestine, maintained that it was better to have lived a true Christian life than to have seen the holy places<sup>2</sup>:

Non Hierosolymam vidisse, sed Hierosolymis bene  
vixisse laudandum est.

Nevertheless, the numbers of Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem increased from century to century and had reached their height by the 11th Century. Also, the tradition of a

pilgrimage to Jerusalem as an act of devotion, and the value of this for the salvation of the individual Christian's soul, had become firmly entrenched both in the teaching of the Christian Church and in the minds of the lay population of medieval Europe. The traditions associated with this particular form of Christian piety have been seen by historians to be of varying importance for the rise of the crusading idea and for the development of its ideals and vocabulary.

The city of Jerusalem in the Middle Ages had many claims to be a place of reverence and the most popular goal for countless pilgrims. As the scene of Christ's ministry and of his Crucifixion, Jerusalem was a holy city; as the place ubi steterunt pedes eius<sup>3</sup>, Jerusalem had been hallowed by the life of the Son of God. By his presence at such holy places, the pilgrim became fortified in his faith and morally uplifted (as long as he approached the holy places with the correct devotio), and he believed in a miraculous, redemptive force associated with these holy places which would have a lasting effect on his own personal salvation<sup>4</sup>. It was also generally believed in the Middle Ages that Jerusalem was the centre of the world<sup>5</sup>; all Christian sects united to worship in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which both Jews and Moslems regarded as one of their most holy places<sup>6</sup>. The central belief in ancient and medieval Christian eschatology supposed that the Last Judgment would take place in the Valley of Jehosaphat between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives, and it was essential to fulfil the Second Coming of Christ that the reign of the Anti-Christ should begin in Jerusalem, and that the city

should retain its Christian character<sup>7</sup>. Associated with this belief in the approaching end of the world was the legend of the Emperor of the Last Days, who was to lay down his crown on the altar in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre<sup>8</sup>. In the 11th Century, the legend of Charlemagne as protector of Jerusalem<sup>9</sup> further increased the interest in Jerusalem as the goal of many pilgrims. In addition to the popularity of the earthly city of Jerusalem in the years preceding the First Crusade, the city was also connected in medieval minds with the heavenly city of Jerusalem: "Das irdische Jerusalem rief bei dem mittelalterlichen Menschen eine - mehr oder weniger bewußte - Gedankenverbindung zum himmlischen Jerusalem hervor, es lenkte durch seine Existenz den Blick auf die jenseitige Heimat und das wahre Vaterland des Menschen<sup>10</sup>." The idea of the heavenly Jerusalem as the civitas Dei in the Augustinian sense came to be transferred to the city of Jerusalem in this world, along with such similar attributes as mater fidei or mater ecclesiarum, and a pilgrimage to the earthly city was regarded as a reflection of life on this earth, which medieval theology saw in terms of a pilgrimage to the heavenly Jerusalem<sup>11</sup>.

Apart from this theological importance of Jerusalem as a goal for pilgrimages and general acts of devotion, the institution of the pilgrimage increased in interest for the medieval lay Christian as the Papacy gradually imbued such a journey with a penitential value. Although the early Christian Church had not seen the pilgrimage as a means of doing penance for sins in this world, it nevertheless counted the existence of a Christian pilgrim among the ascetic forms of life and extreme forms of Christian devotion during the 4th and 5th Centuries<sup>12</sup>. By the 8th



Century, it was popularly believed that a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre completely freed the pilgrim from his sins<sup>13</sup>. The Church imposed a pilgrimage as a form of penance on those having confessed a particularly grave crime, but the ascetic life and the pilgrim's attire was merely understood as a "token of the incomplete remission of temporal punishment due to their sin"<sup>14</sup>. A similarity is here noticeable between popular belief and the Church's interpretation of the indulgence for pilgrim and later Crusader, although there was originally a difference in quality between the indulgence granted to a pilgrim and later crusading indulgences<sup>15</sup>. The pilgrimage as penance was generally imposed by the Pope, a prelate of the Church or by a secular prince, originally for murder, sodomy and simony, and later also for the breaking of the pax Dei<sup>16</sup>. The interest shown in pilgrims throughout the centuries by such personalities as Constantine, Justinian, Heraclius, Charlemagne, etc., and the growing influence of a religious and ascetic view of life on the lay population<sup>17</sup>, led to a great popularity of the pilgrimage shortly before the First Crusade.

However, the pilgrimage was abused at an early date, so that from the 9th Century permission for a voluntary pilgrimage had first to be received from the local clergy, and the right to grant such permission was retained by the Church until well into the crusading period. The ascetic nature of the pilgrimage meant that many pilgrims departed with little means of support for their voyage, although in later years pilgrims attached themselves to rich travellers or relied on support from the inns which flourished on the pilgrim routes. From an early date, the pilgrims enjoyed a special protection from the Church, and were frequently

mentioned in the declaration of a pax Dei by the Papacy<sup>18</sup>. This protection was in fact extended to all travellers (the term peregrinus at the time had a wider range of meaning than purely "pilgrim"), although the Church addressed itself primarily to those pilgrims setting out for their soul's salvation<sup>19</sup>:

De peregrinis vero, qui pro amore Dei et salute animarum suarum beatorum Apostolorum limina desiderant adire, cum pace sine omni perturbatione vadant.

The Church's blessings on travellers called on the protection of St. Raphael and of the Magi for their journey<sup>20</sup>, and later blessings for a pilgrim were to adopt much of the same language. Long before the Crusades, the badge of the pilgrim was restrained clothing and the pilgrim's staff (baculus or fustus) and scrip (pera or capsella), although the Church's blessing of these insignia was not common much before the crusading period<sup>21</sup>. In Germany, liturgical ceremonies for bestowing the pilgrim's insignia and for blessing the undertaking generally arose as a reflex of similar ceremonies for blessing the Crusader's Cross and taking the crusading vow<sup>22</sup>. The earliest formula for blessing a pilgrim in Germany dates from the first half of the 11th Century, and even during the first Crusade Ekkehard of Aura refers to the blessing of the Crusader's insignia as a new rite<sup>23</sup>:

... et in his omnibus ultra quam credi potest catervatim currentibus ad aecclesias populis, novu ritu gladios cum fustibus et capsellis sacerdotalis benedictio dispertavit.

The protection given to pilgrims by both Papacy and Emperor (all those threatening pilgrims travelling to Rome were to be excommunicated) was of great advantage against the dangers to be incurred on such long journeys, and their

insignia were a sign of the protection they enjoyed. The clergy were encouraged to emphasise this aspect of the Church's benedictions<sup>24</sup>:

Et nota, quod ualde utile est peregrinantibus, ut sic insignia peregrinationis, scilicet baculum et peram cum benedictione et oratione ac licentia sui sacerdotis assumant, quia omnes tales sunt sub protectione domini pape ac sancte ecclesie gaudentque pluribus priuilegiis quoad sacramenta, participationem indulgentiarum ab alienis prelatibus concessarum et plura alia.

The blessing of insignia by the clergy symbolised the beginning of the redemptive character of the pilgrimage. By receiving the insignia from the hands of the priest, the pilgrim started his long journey to the remission of earthly punishment for his sins, although popular opinion saw this as the remission of the sins themselves. The priest prayed to the Virgin Mary that the pilgrim might find the way to his salvation safely<sup>25</sup>, or the patron saint of travellers, St. Raphael<sup>26</sup>, was called on for protection on this journey to expiate one's sins<sup>27</sup>:

Accipe hunc baculum itineris tui in nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi, et qui famulo suo Thobie angelum sanctum Raphaelum ducem uique comitem prestitit, ipse tibi angelum pacis dirigat, qui te ad locam, quem ob criminum commissorum expiationem uisitare desideras, perducatur, sitque tibi comitatus secundus (iocundus) nullusque uie tue premium subripiat inimicus, procul a te spiritum malignorum sit accessus, et comes tibi dignetur esse spiritus sanctus.

In the same way as prayers for a pilgrim's safety were offered on blessing his insignia, so too prayers were offered that the returning pilgrim would remain in God's path and so gain his heavenly reward<sup>28</sup>.

The pilgrim's vow was fulfilled by prayer and penance at the Holy Sepulchre or at the shrine of saints and apostles. On approaching Jerusalem, it was usual for the pilgrim to take up a penitential posture and progress on his knees as

soon as he reached the mons gaudii or the place from which he could first catch sight of his goal. From this moment, his life was centred on prayer for forgiveness of his sins and for guidance to lead the rest of his life as a true Christian. This practice of prayer, penance and reverence of the holy places often included circling the walls of Jerusalem and receiving the sacraments at the Holy Sepulchre as a sign that the goal of the pilgrimage had been attained. Many pilgrims stayed on for years after attaining their goal, devoting themselves to aiding other pilgrims, tending the sick, or performing other deeds of mercy in the many inns founded at an earlier date by such benefactors as Constantine, Helena, Charlemagne, etc., and later by the Order of the Temple or the Hospitallers, orders created with the express aim of protecting poor pilgrims. Those pilgrims who did return, usually brought back a sign of having discharged their vow, and there developed the practice of Jerusalem pilgrims wearing the sign of the palm branch<sup>29</sup>.

With the expansion of the Seldjuk Turks into the Byzantine Empire in the middle of the 11th Century<sup>30</sup>, the difficulties for pilgrims to the Holy Land increased considerably. The most popular pilgrim route to Jerusalem was through Anatolia, for the holy places in Constantinople could also be visited during the journey, and the numbers of poor pilgrims settling in these areas caused the Moslem authorities considerable concern. Despite the difficulties for pilgrims after the persecutions and the destruction of much of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the mad Caliph Hākim in 1009<sup>31</sup>, and by the increased influence of Moslem

armed forces along the route to the Holy Land, the numbers of pilgrims grew throughout the century, although now pilgrims united into large masses for protection<sup>32</sup>. At the same time, as it was generally believed that the Second Coming of Christ would take place in 1033, a thousand years after Christ's Passion<sup>33</sup>, more and more pilgrims undertook the journey to Jerusalem, so that by the time of the increased Moslem offensive in the second half of the 11th Century<sup>34</sup>, the tradition of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land as a special form of religious devotion and as a journey bringing about personal salvation had become firmly entrenched in the minds of the medieval lay population.

The situation shortly before the First Crusade was therefore favourable for the redemptive element in the pilgrimage ideal. The plans for an armed expedition to the Holy Land laid by Pope Gregory VII were unsuccessful not least because of the conflict between Empire and Papacy<sup>35</sup>, and towards the end of the 11th Century the numbers of pilgrims were curtailed due to this conflict and to a general disappointment in the failure of eschatological hopes for the Second Coming in 1033<sup>36</sup>. In 1055 Baghdad was taken over by the Seldjuk Turks, and the Turkish forces began their expansion into the Byzantine Empire. Armenia was in their full control by 1067, and in the following years many of the Eastern cities of the Byzantine Empire were attacked<sup>37</sup>. After the defeat of the Byzantine forces at the Battle of Manzikert, the way was open for the Turks to invade Asia Minor<sup>38</sup>, and in 1085 Antioch fell, to be followed in 1087 by Edessa, which cut the pilgrim route to Jerusalem and made the land journey now extremely dangerous

and laborious. The Turks had occupied Southern Syria since 1055, and the majority of Palestine fell into their hands soon after, but, despite the animosity between the Fatimids of Egypt and the Turks, the Christian population was little affected at first<sup>39</sup>. There therefore seems to be little proof for the claims by Urban II of persecution of the Christian population and suppression of the Christian religion at this time. The existence of the indigenous Christians had not changed much in the whole century: "Sie galten als unterworfen, aber den Schutz des islamischen Gesetzes genießende, steuerpflichtige religiöse Minderheit mit begrenzter Kult-freiheit<sup>40</sup>." The loss of Anatolia was more of a political catastrophe for the Byzantine Empire, which Emperor Alexios sought to rectify by appealing to the West for groups of mercenary troops. For this reason the Byzantine Emperor apparently reacted positively towards overtures by Urban II for a reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches, but painted an exaggerated picture of the Christian situation in Jerusalem and Palestine in order to gain military support for his efforts to re-establish his authority in Anatolia and Syria<sup>41</sup>. The success of his appeal was undoubtedly much more than he had expected, and it is of little import whether Urban II's appeal at Clermont can be traced to a Byzantine request for aid or not: the effect of such an appeal on a population in the West nurtured in the redemptive tradition of the pilgrimage and on the special importance of Jerusalem for the Christian religion was enormous. The campaigns of Turkish forces against the Christian Crusader states during the following two centuries, the holy war proclaimed by the Moslem religion and the subsequent

fall of Jerusalem to the forces of Saladin in 1187, were only confirmation in the West of the essential importance for the Christian Church and for the individual Christian of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, and of the need for united efforts to free them from the heathen forces.

2. Urban's proclamation of the First Crusade instigated a movement which was different from the institution of the pilgrimage in one very important basic respect: the Crusade was an armed expedition. This very important difference has been duly recognised by most historians, and the importance of Urban II as the first Pope to incorporate in the idea of the pilgrimage the Church's new attitude towards lay chivalry and warfare in general is also acknowledged. In nearly every other respect, however, the expeditions to the East were regarded in terms of a pilgrimage<sup>42</sup>: the Crusaders were seen as armed pilgrims<sup>43</sup>, and the equation of military enterprise and pilgrimage is noticeable in the language and vocabulary used to refer to the various aspects of the Crusade: "Langage de pèlerinage (sic) qui prouve que la Croisade, dans l'esprit de ceux qui la vécurent ou en parlèrent, continuait la tradition des pèlerinages en Terre-Sainte et qu'elle constituait une entreprise nouvelle qui n'avait pas de nom, qu'elle était une chose à la fois ancienne et nouvelle<sup>44</sup>."

Crusading historiography was late in creating its own vocabulary for the institution of the Crusade; the terms used in the chronicles and the crusading propaganda to refer to the Crusade were at first those of the pilgrimage: iter Hierosolimitanum, Hierosolimitana expeditio,

peregrinatio, via sepulcri Domini, iter Dominicum, sancta via, etc., and the Crusaders themselves were at first seen as pilgrims to Jerusalem: Hierosolimitani, peregrini, etc., and then as children and soldiers of God: gens Christi, exercitus Dei, athletae Christi, etc.<sup>45</sup>. Both sides to the figure of the Crusader are here already explicit<sup>46</sup>: the Crusader was a soldier fighting for his heavenly leader as a vassal would fight on this earth, and he was also a penitent sinner, who was striving after his personal salvation and the remission of his sins. The author of the Gesta Francorum quoted Christ's warning to all those wanting to be his true servant<sup>47</sup>:

Si quis uult post me venire, abneget semetipsum et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me.

The second canon of the Council of Clermont, the only one dealing directly with the Crusade, emphasised the penitential nature of the enterprise<sup>48</sup>:

Quicumque pro sola devotione, non pro honoris vel pecuniae adeptione, ad liberandam ecclesiam Dei Jerusalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni poenitentia reputetur.

The various accounts of Urban's speech all mention this penitential nature to the Crusade<sup>49</sup>. All those undertaking this journey to the Holy Land, not only those who departed as soldiers, were called to the journey from a spirit of contriteness for their sins<sup>50</sup>:

... episcopi, abbates, clerici, etc., ...; deinde laici nobilissimi ... totumque vulgus ... incesti, adulteri, homicidae, etc. ...; poenitentia ducti, ad hanc laetenter concurrerunt viam.

Albert of Aachen understood his account of the Crusade also as an eulogy of Godfrey of Bouillon<sup>51</sup>, and he presented him as the ideal crusading knight who possessed the true devotio formerly associated with the pilgrim<sup>52</sup>:



... ad hanc viam et coeli portam puro corde et perfecta humilitate veniendum est.

The pilgrim-Crusaders were therefore duly humbled by God before they reached their goal in Jerusalem<sup>53</sup>, and Godfrey fulfilled the vow he had taken to pray at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre<sup>54</sup>:

... dux Godefridus ab omni strage sese abstinens, ... sepulchro Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, ... praesentatus est, in lacrimis, orationibus et divinis persistens laudibus, et Deo gratias agens, quia videre meruit quod illi semper in summo fuit desiderio.

The penance for the Crusader's sins represented a kind of psychomachia, for the physical destruction of God's enemies in the Holy Land was at the same time extinguishing in heaven and on earth the earthly sins committed earlier by the Crusader; the battle was thus a purification process<sup>55</sup>:

"Agite ergo poenitentiam luxuriae vestrae foedissimae, quam in hac via sancta incesti coluistis, et omnium iniquitatum vestrarum quibus gratiam Dei offendistis; et sic Deum coeli, apud quem non est iniquitas, venia et confessione delictorum vestrorum purgati, facite vobis placabilem, quia sine illo nichil potestis facere."

The letters of Urban II subsequent to the Council of Clermont also contained the idea of the Crusade as an extension of the pilgrimage<sup>56</sup>, and his ideas were adopted freely into later crusading propaganda. Pascal II exhorted the clergy of France to teach the penitential nature of the Crusade and emphasised the aid to be given to the Eastern Church<sup>57</sup>. Eugene III maintained that the first Crusaders were fired by the same love as were the pilgrims (... charitatis ardore succensi ...) <sup>58</sup>, and St. Bernard presented the Second Crusade as a unique chance for the Christian sinner's redemption<sup>59</sup>:

Quid est enim nisi exquisita prorsus et inventibilis soli Deo occasio salvationis, quod homicidas, raptos, adulteros, perjurios, caeterisque obligatos

criminibus, quasi gentem quae justitiam fecerit, de servitio suo submonere dignatur Omnipotens? Nolite diffidere, peccatores: benignus est Dominus.

Those who undertook an expedition against the heathen, like those undertaking a pilgrimage, were reborn as in baptism by means of the penance they made on such an expedition<sup>60</sup>:

Ecce filii carissimi, novo poenitentiae renati baptismate!

It was not until the later Crusades that the penitential nature was weakened and the crusading oath could be commuted into giving alms<sup>61</sup>, although even Innocent III emphasised the rôle of caritas which should call every Crusader to take the Cross<sup>62</sup>.

The influence of pilgrimage vocabulary and of the penitential nature of the enterprise on the reflection of the crusading idea in vernacular literature is a complicated one, because it is at times difficult to distinguish vocabulary and epithets used with their full redemptive pilgrimage-crusading import and those used as mere local colour or as a reflection of current events. A vernacular literature concerning the Crusades as exists in medieval Latin or to some extent in OF is lacking in MHG, and in concrete terms Willehalm, Parzival, and the Spielmannsepen at best contain only veiled references to contemporary events<sup>63</sup>. Konrad's Rolandslied is in many respects anything but "crusading": "Weder kann man die Rückführung der fränkischen Nachhut oder Karls Rachezug als 'bewaffnete Pilgerfahrt' begreifen, noch taucht auch nur im entferntesten die Absicht auf, 'heilige Stätten zu befreien'<sup>64</sup>." But these vernacular works have a tenor which brings them very close to the atmosphere of crusading propaganda and chronicles only partly contained in contemporary references.

When Bishop Turpin addresses the imperial army in the Rolandslied as ir heiligin pilgerime (RL 245), it would appear that Konrad is using the equivalent MHG epithet for the Latin peregrinus, the appropriate term for the pilgrim-Crusader<sup>65</sup>. But as the plot of the Rolandslied is so far removed from a real Crusade or from a real pilgrimage, this particular epithet must be understood in a spiritualised context, as must the whole crusading atmosphere in the poem: in this sense pilgerim has more of its original theological meaning of the medieval Christian as a pilgrim in this world, who can only attain the heavenly Jerusalem by rejecting worldly values and by a life of ascetic devotion<sup>66</sup>. The historical Crusader was involved in such a rejection of worldly values both spiritually and physically, for heavenly reward was promised only to those who undertook the journey in the appropriate penitential frame of mind and left behind family and possessions to set out for the Holy Land, thus fulfilling their own imitatio Christi. Konrad's reference to the imperial army as "pilgrims" is therefore meant in the more spiritualised sense of those milites Christi who rejected the affairs of this world and were willing to give military service to God in order to attain heavenly reward, although the direct connection is here with the bellum sacrum of missionary warfare and of the imperial holy war rather than with the Crusade. Konrad's introduction to his poem (RL 1-360)<sup>67</sup>, containing four speeches full of crusading thought and ideas, is therefore orientated towards his more spiritualised presentation of the battles in crusading terms<sup>68</sup>. Indeed, St. Bernard's proclamation of the Crusade against the Wends

in 1147 and the expansion of the crusading idea to include renegade Christians and heretics shifted the main emphasis of crusading piety away from liberation of the Holy Land towards a propagation of the Christian faith<sup>69</sup>, and the missionary elements in Konrad's poem could well merit closer examination in this light.

In the Kaiserchronik, on the other hand, the poet's presentation of the First and subsequent Crusades<sup>70</sup> is much closer to the reality of the campaigns in the Holy Land<sup>71</sup>. Godfrey of Bouillon is presented as the true pilgrim-Crusader who abandoned all earthly possessions to undertake the expedition:

er verliez alle sîne habe  
dem wâren gote zêren.

Kchr. 16621

and the Crusaders themselves are seen as die reken ellende (Kchr. 16672), whom God aids with the finding of the Holy Lance<sup>72</sup>. The necessity of a pilgrim-like humility is contained in a significant context in the Cosdras and Heraclius episode of the Kaiserchronik. Heraclius has defeated the heathen king Cosdras and regained the true Cross as was God's mission to his servant, and the Roman army pray, and show penance and humility at the Holy Sepulchre (Kchr. 11314-7). But both the Roman army and Heraclius are full of excessive pride - mit grôzer ubermuote (Kchr. 11312) - and this pride has to be humbled into the same humility as that shown by Christ on entering Jerusalem<sup>73</sup>:

"vernaeme dû aver ie mêre,  
dô got selbe durch sîne miltechait  
ainen esel hie durch rait  
durch dise porte?"

Kchr. 11329  
11330

Heraclius takes up the penitent posture common to the pilgrim and enters the city as a humble servant of God:

der chunich imz harte revorhte, Kchr. 11333  
 er machete sich parvuoz unt wullin,  
 vil tiure flêget er minen trehtin. 11335  
 daz crûce er zuo im vie,  
 vil frôliche er durch die porte gie.  
 er truog ez ze Jerusalem in daz templum.

and the poet adds a moral, condemning pride as a destroyer  
 of Christian devotio<sup>74</sup>:

daz ist uns armen gesaget ad exemplum: Kchr. 11339  
 von diu suln wir unseren hêren 11340  
 vurhten unde flêgen  
 mit zuhten unt mit guote,  
 mit grôzer deumuote.  
 ubermuot ist sô getân:  
 diu gescendet ie den man. 11345

In the plot of König Rother, Rother and his two compan-  
 ions are also presented as pilgrims, although the pilgrim's  
 attire appears more as a cunning ruse to enter Constantin-  
 ople<sup>75</sup>:

Ich wille uor constantine gan. Roth. 3660  
 In walleres wise.

In Salman und Morolf, Morolf is always referred to as a  
 pilgrim in his search for Salmê, although the motif of pil-  
 grimage is here subordinate to that of Brautwerbung and he,  
 too, often uses the pilgrim's attire as a disguise<sup>76</sup>:

dô wallete er mit jâmer SuM 177,4  
 nâch der kunegîn uber den sê. 177,5  
 einen kotzen leit er an, 185,4  
 einen balmen ûf den rucke, 185,5  
 ein krucke er under sîn achsel nam.

The poet even refers to the heathen Princiân in similar  
 terms<sup>77</sup>:

Der edele kunig Princiân SuM 600,1  
 selbe zwelfte sîner man  
 er wallete uber den wilden sê.  
 an dem zwelften âbent  
 kômen sie gein Jerusalem. 600,5

But the penitential side to the pilgrim's rôle breaks  
 through in the rejection of worldly wealth in the service  
 of Christ:

güt ich durch êre nam.  
durch den rîchen got von himele  
hân ich mich es abe getân.

SuM 254,3

254,5

This connection of a pilgrim-Crusader with the theme of Brautwerbung is also present in both versions of the Oswald legend and in Orendel. Wärmunt is presented as the true pilgrim of God who literally sees life as a constant pilgrimage in his service (MOsw. 194-201; WOsw. 42 and 47-9), and Pämige's advice to Oswald through the messenger raven has crusading overtones in her appeal to him to cross the sea and win her as a bride:

welle er danne nâch mir über mere varen, MOsw. 1151  
so süle er sich wol bewæren: ...  
heiz in vüeren helde guot 1157  
mit ime ûf des meres vluot:

Although the campaigns against the heathen king Aron are real crusading campaigns with field-sermons and an emphasis on heavenly reward, the idea of conversion is of equal importance - a missionary task given Oswald by God (MOsw. 59 ff.). In Orendel, the figure of the pilgrim is not only introduced as local colour<sup>78</sup>, but also as characterisation of a true Christian existence in the person of Tragemunt:

do quam ein armer wallender man, Or. 105  
der wolte zu dem heiligen grabe gan.  
'wer nu gode wol gedruwet, 126  
wie rehte wol der buwet!'...  
'dem kan ez nummer misseگان.' 129

Both Orendel and Ise, armed soldiers of God who are searching for a bride for Orendel, are also presented as pilgrims (Or. 3592; 3596; 3614; etc.) and Orendel first reveals himself to Bride in the guise of a pilgrim to the Holy Sepulchre:

'nein ich, frouwe, daz weiz got, Or. 1475  
ich bin ein ellender man wol frumer  
und bin durch got zu dem grabe her kumen.'

His preparations for the battle with Pelian are reminiscent of the penitent attitude of the pilgrim on absolving his vow at the Holy Sepulchre (Or. 1983-91), and he undertakes the labours of his second expedition to the Holy Land for his soul's salvation:

'daz laz dich erbarmen got,	<u>Or.</u> 3357
daz ich vil ellender man	
der node so vil geliden han	
durch willen miner sele,'	3360

Bride's later pilgrimage from Acre to Jerusalem is to protect the Holy Sepulchre, the same aim as the First Crusade (Or. 3808-13).

The main subject matter of Herzog Ernst is divided between the conflict between the Emperor and Ernst and Ernst's fantastic adventures in the Orient, and while the majority of the latter take place in the area concerned with historical crusading activity and consist of military expeditions against heathen or pseudo-heathen forces, the crusading motifs are kept to a minimum. The main reason for Ernst's decision to depart for the East is at the same time a pragmatic as well as a penitential one: Ernst has been wrongly accused of lèse-majesté (HE 975 f.; 984 ff.; 1147; 1157; 1304; 1906 f.). His act of vengeance is an act of vengeance not of a vassal against his liege lord, as the Emperor is not only Emperor but also vicarius Dei<sup>79</sup>, but an act of vengeance against God. The portrayal of Ernst's expedition as one of penance for sins committed is considerably weakened by the pragmatic side to Ernst's decision: Ernst decides to leave voluntarily before he is forced to by the Emperor:

sô komen wir sîn mit êren abe,	<u>HE</u> 1816
ê wir uns sus vertriben lân.	

Nevertheless, Ernst does set out in a spirit of penance:

wir haben wider gote getân	HE 1818
daz wir im billîch müezen	
ûf sîn hulde bûezen,	1820
daz er uns die schulde ruoche vergeben	

and his certainty that forgiveness will be granted him on his return (HE 1824 f.) turns out to be the case eventually<sup>80</sup>.

A reconciliation with God can only be effected by a reconciliation with the Emperor as God's representative. The penitential nature of Ernst's expedition is further weakened by the poet's desire to introduce elements of the fabulous adventures associated with an adventuring knight: "Ernsts Fahrt ist Reckenfahrt und Bußfahrt zugleich"<sup>81</sup>.

Thus Ernst and his followers can be referred to as pilgerîne (HE 3884; 4358) and their expedition seen in terms reminiscent of the Crusade<sup>82</sup>. Ernst is constantly concerned with aiding those in distress, but he is in no apparent haste to reach the goal of his expedition, Jerusalem, and the poet lays emphasis on his military exploits rather than on penance for his sins. So in Herzog Ernst, as in the other Spielmannsepen, the pilgrim motif is only of secondary importance in the narrative.

The penitential nature of those departing on a Crusade, the heritage of the pilgrim's devotion, is also part of the personalised method of presentation in the crusading lyric. For Albrecht von Johansdorf, the reason for the departure is the expiation of his sins<sup>83</sup>:

Ich hân dur got daz crûce an mich genomen MF 86,25  
und var dâ hin durch mîne missetât.

and Walther recognises the necessity of a penitent spirit to gain the reward first gained for mankind by Christ's redemption of all on the Cross:



loeser ûz den sünden, L 76,30  
wir gern zen swebenden ûnden.  
uns mac dîn geist enzündē,  
wirt riuwic herze erkant.  
dîn bluot hât uns begozzen,  
den himel ûf geslozzē. 76,35

Although the Christian knights may have sinned greatly, the penance of the Crusade is a light one:

er wirt mit swacher buoze grôzer sünde  
erlöst. L 124,40

This is the same redemptive nature of combat as seen in Willehalm (Wh. 38,20-4; etc.) and the Rolandslied (RL 78-82; etc.), although in these latter poems the context of an expedition to the Holy Land is not given and not relevant. But Gyburg's reaction to Willehalm's return in heathen armour - her test of his Christian mercy (Wh. 90,12-23) - is reminiscent of the Christian spirit of caritas demanded for the brothers in the East. Rudolf shows the same sympathy in Graf Rudolf as a motive for setting out to the Holy Land (GR 7-12), and this same spirit of charity, reminiscent of the parable of the Good Samaritan, is shown to him later by one of the Jerusalem pilgrims:

den wellere irbarmete daz, GR Hb 12  
daz her so iemerliche lach.  
nider warf her sinen stap,  
daz houbet nam her in sinen schoz, 15  
sin clage die wart harte groz.  
Der gute wellere ...  
des wines gap her ime da zu stunt 23  
dem greven ein luzzel in den munt,  
daz her zu ime selben quam.

The designatory vocabulary of the pilgrimage had a great impact on the vocabulary of crusading historiography and of vernacular literature, but the influence of pilgrimage ideology also extended to the formalistic blessings and votive obligations of the Crusader as well as to the importance of both earthly and heavenly

Jerusalem for crusading propaganda. The blessings for a pilgrim developed into liturgical form in Europe during the crusading period and partly as a result of it<sup>84</sup>. At the same time, as a result of the Church's increasing interest in warfare in the service of Christianity, prayers for Christian armies in general and for Christian armies against the heathen forces attacking the Christian state in particular soon became common. The Benedictio ciuitatis contra gentiles is reminiscent of protective campaigns against the heathen Hungarian tribes in earlier centuries<sup>85</sup>:

Mestorum refugium deus, tribulorum consolator, clementiam tuam suppliciter exoramus, ut afflictos oppressione gentium auxilium tue defensionis impendens eripere et saluare digneris. Tribue, quesumus, fortitudinem fessis, laborantibus opem, solatium tristibus, adiutorium tribulatis. Circumda ciuitatem hanc uirtutis tue presidio et omnes manentes in ea immense pietatis defende iuuamine. Pone in muris et in portis eius angelorum custodiam, salutis auxilia, munitionem omnium sanctorum tuorum, et, qui peccatis nostris iuste affligimur, de sola tua misericordia confidentes miserationis tue munere adiuuemur, quatinus a pressure hac, que nos circumdedit, erepti liberis tibi mentibus gratias agentes seruire possimus.

The Crusaders' weapons were considered blessed on their taking the Cross, and therefore in Church historiography there were no special blessings for arms. The Crusader pledged to sacrifice his life in the fulfilment of his vow against the heathen<sup>86</sup>, and then one of various benedictions was spoken over the kneeling Crusader<sup>87</sup>:

Domine Iesu Christi, ... qui tuis discipulis dixisti, ut, quicumque uult post te uenire, semetipsum abneget et suam crucem tollens te sequatur, quesumus immensam clemenciam tuam, ut hos famulos tuos, qui iuxta uerbum tuum se ipsos abnegare suasque cruces tollere et te sequi desiderant et contra Turcos pugnare, semper et ubique protegas et a periculis omnibus eruas et a uinculo peccatorum absoluas acceptumque uotum ad scopum reducas optatum. Tu, domine, ... eorum, quesumus, iter bene disponas et prospera cuncta concedas, ut inter presentis seculi angustias tuo semper auxilio gubernentur. Mitte eis ... angelum tuum

Raphaelum, qui Thobie comes fuit in itinere suo eiusque patrem a corporis cecitate liberauit, ut in eundo et redeundo sit eis defensor contra omnes uisibilis et inuisibilis hostis insidias, et omnis mentis et corporis ab eis cecitatem expellat.

The similarities between the benedictions of the pilgrim and those of the Crusader are such that they are often interchangeable, and not only was the Crusader blessed, but he was also endowed with the older insignia of the pilgrim, the scrip and the staff<sup>88</sup>. Liturgically speaking, the transfer from pilgrim to Crusader blessing was therefore extremely fluid.

The historiography of the Crusades recognised in the sign of the Cross the symbol of the crusading vow, which, like the vow of the pilgrim, entailed a spirit of penitence and humility to be shown on the journey to Jerusalem, and symbolised God's protection of the Crusader on this journey. The Cross was the exterior sign of their desire to imitate Christ - the Gospel quotation from St. Matthew<sup>89</sup> became one of the most popular in crusading propaganda - and a sign of the divine nature of their mission, of their love for God, and of the invincibility of the faith for which they were setting out. Albert of Aachen said of the Bishop of Puy<sup>90</sup>:

... ammonet socios ... ne dubitent mori pro ejus amore  
cujus vestigia cum signo sanctae Crucis sunt secuti, ...

It is uncertain whether Urban II mentioned the sign of the Cross at Clermont<sup>91</sup>, but the chroniclers saw this crusading badge as being instigated then or shortly afterwards<sup>92</sup>. The divine nature of the Crusaders' mission was especially evident in the many supernatural events presaging the Crusades and their preparations, not the least of these being the miraculous appearance of the sign of the Cross on the

Crusaders' clothing<sup>93</sup>:

Nonnulli etiam crucis signaculum sibi in frontibus vel vestibus sive in quolibet corporis loco divinitus impressum ostendebant, ipsoque se stigmatibus ad eandem Domini militiam prescriptos credebant.

For William of Malmesbury the Cross was the sign of the

Crusaders' vow of imitatio Christi<sup>94</sup>:

Ituri et Christianitatem propugnaturi specimen crucis vestibus insigniant, ut intestinae fidei foris amorem praetendant.

But it is as if the sign of the Cross were not enough for the crusading forces; in Baldwin's attack on Caesarea, the Holy Cross itself was carried into battle<sup>95</sup>:

Eodem die dominus Patriarcha crucem Dominicam praetulerat ad protectionem et defensionem gentis catholicae, stola sancta et candida pro thorace indutus, quem usque ad muros tota manus Christianorum sequi non dubitavit.

The sign of the Cross remained for all subsequent campaigns the sign of the crusading vow and of the purity of the Crusader on fulfilling this vow. The Bishop of Oporto in one breath referred to the Crusaders as pilgrims<sup>96</sup> and emphasised the purification of the spirit necessary for a Crusader after taking the Cross<sup>97</sup>:

Christum induistis iterum. Vestem innocentiae, ut immaculatam custodiatis, iterum suscepistis. Videte ne iterum post concupiscentias vestras abieritis. Auferte malum cogitationum de medio vestri. Animum purgate, id est, mentem, in sanctificatum Deo templum.

For St. Bernard, the Crusader's Cross was the sign of salvation<sup>98</sup> and when Louis VII took the Cross from him at Vézelay, Louis accepted both Cross and pilgrim's scrip<sup>99</sup>:

Deinde sumpto vexillo desuper altari et pera et benedictione a summo pontifice, ... se subducit.

For Martin of Pairis, the taking of the Cross was the first step before gaining a large reward for little effort<sup>100</sup>:

Nunc igitur, fratres, laetis mentibus triumphale signum crucis accipite, ut et causam Crucifixi

fideliter exsequentes, pro labore brevi et modico  
magna et aeterna percipere valeatis stipendia.

The symbol of the Cross became the badge of the Crusader much as the scrip and staff, and later the palm-leaf or the shell, became the sign of the pilgrim. But Cross, scrip and staff were more than just external signs of recognition, for they symbolised the very foundation of the expedition: the penitential spirit, the vow of obedience, the blessing of arms, the divinity of the task, the protection by God and the invincibility of the Christian religion. As a symbol of the death of Christ, the Cross was in addition a symbol of the Crusaders' imitation of Christ's self-sacrifice for others, which the expedition to the Holy Land represented in crusading propaganda. In the Kaiserchronik, however, the sign of the Cross is either representative of the Church's benediction or blessing at the end of a Church service or religious activity (Kchr. 1824; 4017; 4243; 10315; etc.), or a symbol of God's power over evil (Kchr. 8107). The sign of the Cross as a symbol of a Crusade becomes apparent in the campaign of the christianised Romans under Constantine against his heathen mother. Silvester and Constantine declare a military campaign with penitential character under the sign of the Cross:

Der bâbes gebôt sînhalp	<u>Kchr.</u> 8422
uber allen gaistlichen gewalt,	
si maneten daz liut verre	
durh willen unsers herren,	8425
man gab ez in ze buoze.	
ir geverte wart lûter und suoze...	
duo nam aller menniclich	8430
ain rotez crûce vur sich,	
si lobeten unde sunge	
mit herzen und mit munde,	
si bâten mînen trehtîn,	
daz er in genaedich wolte sîn,	8435
daz er ir gelaite waere	
und alles ir gevertes phlaege.	

Theodosius' declaration of a campaign against the followers of Arianism also has crusading overtones<sup>101</sup>, and in the final confrontation, the Christian Emperor marches into battle at the head of his forces under the sign of the Cross:

diu crûce truogen si dar, Kchr. 13575  
 in volgete ain wunneclîch scar.  
 der kaiser gie ze aller vorderôst:  
 da gescach der cristenhait ain michel trôst.

In the first Bavarian continuation of the poem, the poet similarly portrays Frederick Barbarossa's taking of the Cross and the penitent nature of Frederick II on taking the crusading oath (Kchr. Anhang I, 73-6 and 549-52).

Konrad's Rolandslied is far removed from any historical campaign to free the Holy Land, and the crusading elements in the poem consist of a spiritualised attitude towards the superiority of the Christian faith and of the Christian imperial forces in the fight against the heathen armies. In this way the Christian forces can take the Cross as symbol of their imitatio Christi, as protection and as sign of the salvation they will win from heaven in view of Christ's redemption of mankind on the Cross:

iz (sc. daz heilige cruce) truc selbe  
 unser herre. RL 253  
 di sine uil sûze lere  
 hat er uns uor getragen. 255  
 wir sculn ime allez nach uaren,  
 lernen den selbin ganc:  
 triket den kelh den er tranc,  
 eret daz uil heilige cruce;

Turpin's words stand in a direct relationship to his addressing the Christian army as pilgrims - for him the sign of the Cross is directly opposed to evil, and the Christian army should take up the Cross not only physically on their battle tunics but also spiritually by a purification

of their hearts<sup>102</sup>. In this way, the Cross as symbol of Christianity will gain honour (RL 4979 f.) and the Christian army the salvation due to them. The taking of the Cross is open to all types of warrior<sup>103</sup>:

er were fri oder eigen, RL 165  
si cherten uf di heiden,  
si zeichinoten sich mit chrucen.

and the sign of the Cross is laid on as protection with the battle armour:

daz cruce tet er fur sich, RL 3332  
zerucke unt ze siten.

The sign of the Cross is also a symbol of their rejection of worldly values and the spirit of self-sacrifice necessary for a pilgrim, a Crusader and for all Christians desiring to imitate Christ's sacrifice for mankind:

si haizen alle gotes chint. RL 3444  
di werlt si uersmaheten, 3445  
daz raine opher si brachten,  
do si daz cruce an sich namen.  
ze dem tode begonden si harte gahen.  
si chöften daz gotes rîche.

This sacrifice is duly rewarded, although Turpin reminds the Christian warriors of their vow and of what the symbol of the Cross means:

nu lat wol schinin RL 246  
durch waz ir uz sit komen  
unt daz heilige cruce habet genu<sup>o</sup>min.

Before battle, the kiss of peace is reminiscent of the kiss on taking the crusading vow, as it is of the feudal kiss and of the kiss of friendship, and the carrying of relics in the Crusader's sword or bound to the shaft of a spear became as popular as the carrying of relics by pilgrims for protection on their journey home after attaining their goal<sup>104</sup>. Roland's sword is bestowed on him by an angel (RL 6863 ff.) and also contains these relics:

mines herren sent Petres blūt,  
 diu herschaft sent Plasien,  
 des hares mines herren sent Dionisien,  
 des gewates miner frouwen sent Marien,  
 der kaiser newolte nie beliben  
 unz in dir uersigelet wart.

RL 6874  
 6875

On the other hand, the Cross found miraculously after Karl's second dream (RL 7443 ff.) symbolises the regained coincidence of divine and imperial will<sup>105</sup>, and is also the badge of redemption for the Crusader, although Konrad here applies it not to the knight but to the Emperor, whose duty it is to bring about his people's salvation<sup>106</sup>. Konrad's portrayal of the sign of the Cross must therefore be interpreted on a more spiritual level than in the Kaiserchronik, and the life of the Christian warrior is seen in its theological interpretation of life as a penitential and humble pilgrimage to a heavenly Jerusalem, although the context of Konrad's poem is more one of an imperial bellum sacrum. His interpretation of the sign of the Cross is as much a part of this spiritual attitude as are his references to pilgrimage terminology.

Wolfram's Willehalm also contains elements more associated with the imperial holy war tradition than with the Crusade<sup>107</sup>, and Willehalm's battles against Terramer have no relationship to freeing or regaining the Holy Land nor to an armed pilgrimage to any shrine. As in the Rolandslied, the elements of a pilgrim-crusading nature are imposed on a material that is basically not crusading, for Willehalm as imperial vassal and later vicarius imperatoris is protecting the bounds of the Christian kingdom of God on earth and the Christian faith. The crusading elements are also more spiritualised, and present the chivalric devotion required of both crusading knight and pilgrim. Christ's sacrifice for mankind on the Cross is an example for the



warrior, and the sign of the Cross on their battle tunics should be a reminder of this salvation<sup>108</sup>;

nû seht, war zuo wir töhten,	Wh. 17,8
ob wir liezen solhen segên,	
des wir mit dem kriuze phlegen.	17,10
wan sît sich kriuzewîs erbôt,	
Jesûs von Nâzarêt, dîn tût,	
dâ von hânt vlûhteclichen kêr	
die boesen geiste immer mêr.	
helde, ir sult des nemen war,	17,15
ir traget sîns tôdes wâpen gar,	
der uns von helle erlôste:	
der kumt uns wol ze trôste.	

The portrayal of the taking of the Cross before battle bears similarities to the historical reality of the Crusades, although the rôle of the clergy in the poem is kept to a minimum<sup>109</sup>, and the heart's purification before battle is as important in the poem as for the pilgrim on taking his vow:

si nâmenz kriuze über al.	Wh. 304,19
hin ûz inz her kom ouch der schal:	304,20
des was dâ manec ritter vrô.	
die werden wurbenz alle sô,	
daz si des kriuzes gerten:	
des si vil priester werten,	
hie den ritter, dort den sarjant,	304,25
swaz man guoter turkopel vant,	
beidiu arme und rîche	
nâmenz kriuze al gelîche.	
ir herzen si gereinden,	
den hoesten got si meinden.	304,30

The Cross worn by Willehalm's father, Count Heimrich, is described by Wolfram in analogy to the T-shaped Cross painted by the Israelites on the doorpost of the faithful to protect them from God's vengeance (Wh. 406,17-28)<sup>110</sup>. Wolfram insists on the shape of this Cross<sup>111</sup>, and thus likens the Christian army to the Israelites as *electi Dei*, a favourite epithet among the chroniclers for the Crusaders. At the same time, the Christian army is free from the vengeance of God, which is seen to fall on the heathen forces in the second battle<sup>112</sup>. This Cross is a reminder

for Heimrich of Christ's sacrifice for mankind (Wh. 406,30 -407,4) - a historical event of which even Terramer is aware and which he vainly uses in his Religionsgespräch to point out the ineffectiveness of Christianity:

... daz ez den touf genaeme	Wh. 107,30
durch Jêsum, der selbe truoc	108,1
ein kriuze, dâ man in ane sluoc	
mit drîn nageln durch sîn vern.	

The Spielmannsdichtung and the crusading lyric are closer to crusading reality, in that the former poems reflect to a greater or a lesser degree among their motifs the events and the atmosphere of one crusading period, while the latter lyrics, although often generalising in a propagandistic manner, personalise the conflict for the poet whether to take the Cross or not. For this reason the presentation of the crusading situation is more literal in the Spielmannsdichtung, although the penitential and redemptive nature of the vow and expedition are often clearly evident, and more spiritualised in the lyric. Thus Albrecht von Johansdorf takes the Cross in God's name<sup>113</sup>:

Ich hân dur got daz crûce an mich genomen MF 86,25  
and Reinmar von Hagenau equates the penitential nature of taking the Cross with the pilgrim's vow:

Des tages dô ich daz kriuze nam,	MF 181,13
dô huote ich der gedanke mîn,	
als ez dem zeichen wol gezam	181,15
und also ein rehter bilgerîn;	

For Heinrich von Rugge the taking of the Cross is not only rewarded greatly in heaven, but it is only right and proper for the chivalric class to undertake this mission under God's protection<sup>114</sup>:

nu nement daz crûce und vârent dâ hin,	MF 99,18
(daz wirt iu ein vil grôz gewin)	
und fürhtent nieht den tôt.	99,20
Der tumbe man von Rugge hât	

gegeben disen wîsen rât. MF 99,22  
 ist ieman der in nu verstât  
 ieht anders wan in guot,  
 Den riuwet, sô der schade ergât, 99,25  
 daz im der grôzen missetât  
 nieman necheinen wandel hât:

Walther compares the symbols of Christianity with God's anger which will strike down the heathen, implicitly including the Crusader in God's protection (L 15,18 f.), and Hartmann presents the Cross as the sign of strength on which the weak Christian can lean; after purifying himself, he can undertake the expedition with a pure heart. The expedition will entail some discomfort but will lead to heavenly reward:

ouch ist ez niht ein kleiner haft MF 209,29  
 dem tumben man 209,30  
 der sîme lîbe meisterschaft  
 niht halten kan.  
 ez wil niht daz man sî  
 der werke drunder frî:  
 waz touc ez ûf der wât, 209,35  
 ders an dem herzen niene hât?

This process of purification and strengthening by the sign of the Cross is present in the image of "Christ's flowers" which the Crusader has chosen and which he wears on his tunic<sup>115</sup>:

Mîn fröide wart nie sorgelôs MF 210,35  
 unz an die tage  
 daz ich mir Kristes bluomen kôs  
 die ich hie trage.  
 die kündent eine sumerzît,  
 diu alsô gar 211,1  
 in sûezer ougenweide lît.

The spiritualised view of the taking of the Cross and the passing nature of worldly joys before the joy of serving God are here particularly clearly represented.

The presentation of taking the Cross in Herzog Ernst on the other hand is in keeping with the expedient decision-taking by Ernst; the decision is not taken in a spirit of

religious self-sacrifice, but is merely a stereotype motif associated with the setting out on a journey of adventure<sup>116</sup>:

daz wir fûeren über mer, HE 1810  
dar stêt vaste mir der muot.  
ob ez iuch herren dunket guot,  
sô sol uns des durch got gezemen  
daz wir durch in daz kriuze nemen  
ze dienste dem heiligen grabe. 1815

In Graf Rudolf, the scene of taking the Cross is not extant, and the only mention of such insignia is Rudolf's reception at Jerusalem where the Holy Cross is brought out to meet him (GR B 23-8). In the Oswald legend, the golden crosses which are prepared for Oswald's expedition are initially only for recognition purposes, and although prepared for an armed expedition against the heathen forces, they do not have a transcendental meaning except by association with Oswald's missionary purpose, which is at this stage of the poem subordinate to the motif of Brautwerbung<sup>117</sup>:

"wer mir der verte wil bigestân, MOSw. 1585  
der muoz der kriuze einez hân:  
obe wir wurden bestanden  
von der heiden handen,  
sô waere wir kristen alle sant  
bî den kriuzen einander wol erkant." 1590

These examples suffice to show that the spiritual meaning of the sign of the Cross is generally subordinated to the more important motifs of Brautwerbung and missionary activity in the Spielmannsdichtung.

3. The aim of many pilgrims was the Holy Sepulchre and the holy places at Jerusalem, and a pilgrimage to the Holy Land was regarded in the Middle Ages as of more spiritual value than any of the other shrines of saints or apostles<sup>118</sup>. For an expedition planned as an armed pilgrimage to the Holy Land Jerusalem thus naturally became the goal.

Erdmann differentiated between Jerusalem as Marschziel and the freedom of the Eastern Churches as Kriegsziel during the First Crusade<sup>119</sup>, which is a somewhat over-subtle distinction. Mayer emphasised the importance of the pilgrimage as a preparatory factor for the First Crusade<sup>120</sup>, but he paradoxically maintained that the idea of Jerusalem as a goal arose later and he discounted the importance of Urban II. Both Rousset and Cowdrey<sup>121</sup> have shown, however, that Jerusalem and the religious connotations associated with the city were part of Urban's ideas for the Crusade from the start, and that he adopted this from the importance of Jerusalem as goal for so many pilgrims in the preceding century. Jerusalem was described as the goal of the First Crusade by many of the contemporary chroniclers<sup>122</sup>:

... et in Hierusalem unanimiter festinabant, ...

Even the holy city of Antioch could not hold the first Crusaders back from continuing to Jerusalem<sup>123</sup>:

... post aliquod spacium temporis murmuraverunt .  
unanimiter Christianorum populi, quoniam in hac urbe  
Antiochia sola eorum mora haberetur, et nullo modo  
viam Iherusalem insisterent, cujus desiderio natales  
oras relinquentes, tot adversa pertulerunt.

The same aim existed for the Crusader as for the pilgrim - the possibility of worshipping at the Holy Sepulchre<sup>124</sup>:

Tunc seniores nostri ordinaverunt quomodo ingeniare  
possent civitatem, ut ad adorandum nostri Salvatoris  
intrarent Sepulchrum.

This aim was still present in later propaganda, and Otto of Freising could describe the French king's desire to go on a Crusade in terms of visiting Jerusalem<sup>125</sup>, but the emphasis of this later propaganda, especially after the fall of Edessa in 1144 and until the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, was no longer on the freeing of Jerusalem and the

Holy Sepulchre but on the opportunity of gaining the heavenly Jerusalem. This motif was just as important for the propaganda of the First Crusade, however, and the attainment of the earthly city became fused in many cases with the attainment of the heavenly city, as the theological background to pilgrimage and Church theory had proclaimed for some years previously<sup>126</sup>. The leaders of the First Crusade called on Urban II to become their leader and to lead them to the heavenly Jerusalem<sup>127</sup>. Urban II referred to the Holy Land as the Promised Land, which the Crusader was to win back as the Israelites had done before them<sup>128</sup>:

Viam sancti Sepulcri incipite, terram illam nefariae genti auferte, eamque vobis subjicite, terra illa filiis Israel a Deo in possessionem data fuit, sicut Scriptura dicit, quae lacte et melle fluit.

The capture of Jerusalem was the fulfilment of the Scriptures<sup>129</sup>, and the Crusaders confused the idea of God's heritage and of the Promised Land with that of the earthly Jerusalem associated with the pilgrimage. The Holy Land was God's haereditas, his inherited, earthly, feudal kingdom which the knights had to recover for him from the usurping heathen forces. They became a new Chosen People, and by winning back this earthly territory won for themselves the heavenly paradise. The leaders of the First Crusade saw Jerusalem as released from the Turkish yoke and returned to her children<sup>130</sup>. This was the temporal and spiritual heritage promised by Christ to his servants<sup>131</sup>:

... isti Christiani filii Christi uocati sunt; et prophetarum ore filii adoptionis et promissionis, et secundum apostolorum heredes Christi sunt, quibus Christus hereditates repromissas iam donauit, dicendo per prophetas: "A solis ortu usque ad occasum erunt termini uestri, et nemo stabit contra uos."

In both the temporal and the spiritual sense Jerusalem was

the fount of salvation and of faith<sup>132</sup>, and the physical liberation of the Holy Land was a vindication of Christ's Crucifixion and of the ravaging of God's territory<sup>133</sup>:

Volumus ... notum vobis fieri quam ... a nobis capta est Antiochia, et Turci, qui multa Domino nostro Jesu Christo intulerant opprobria, capti et interfecti sunt, et nos Hierosolymitani Jesu Christi injurias, summi Dei, vindicavimus, ...

Associated with this confusion of the earthly and the heavenly Jerusalem as Christ's heritage was an older Church view that the heavenly Jerusalem could be gained in any geographical location. Bishop Ivo of Canute in his work De Poenitentia quoted St. Jerome's ambiguous statement that it was better to have lived a good life as a pilgrim (Crusader) than to have gained the earthly Jerusalem<sup>134</sup>. The Bishop of Oporto paraphrased this same idea in a speech aimed at persuading a mixed group of Crusaders to aid King Alfonso of Portugal in the siege of Lisbon, when their vows had been to travel to Jerusalem<sup>135</sup>:

Nulla ergo itineris incepti festinationis vos seducat occasio, quia non Hierosolimis fuisse, sed bene interim vixisse laudabile est.

This is not a rejection of the crusading idea<sup>136</sup>, for this campaign was regarded merely as a break in the journey to Jerusalem. Much earlier, however, before the First Crusade, Anselm of Canterbury warned a young Norman layman of the dangers of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem and of the advantages of the heavenly Jerusalem<sup>137</sup>:

Moneo ... ut dimittas illam Hierusalem, quae nunc non est visio pacis, sed tribulationis, thesauros Constantinopolitanos et Babylonios cruentatis manibus diripiendos: et incipe viam ad coelestem Hierusalem, quae est visio pacis, ubi invenies thesauros, non nisi istos contemnentibus suscipiendos.

St. Bernard preached the Crusade as a pilgrimage of expiation, and was more concerned with the heavenly Jerusalem than with the earthly city. Bernard described a young canon who had

set off to the Holy Land but decided to stay at Clairvaux despite his vow<sup>138</sup>:

... civis conscriptus Jerusalem, non autem terrenae hujus ... sed liberae illius, quae est sursum mater nostra. Et, si vultis scire, Clara-Vallis est. Ipsa est Jerusalem, ei quae in coelis est, tota mentis devotione, et conversationis imitatione, et cognatione quadem spiritus sociata.

although Bernard also saw the earthly Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the transcendental manner of God's inheritance to be earned by the Crusader<sup>139</sup>. Even after the fall of Jerusalem to the heathen, Innocent III prayed that the Holy Land be returned to the fold of Christianity<sup>140</sup>, and Martin of Pairis bewailed Christ's being expelled from his own lands<sup>141</sup>.

These two strands of propaganda stretched through the crusading propaganda and chronicles of two centuries. However, the aim of the First Crusade was not only to recapture the Holy Land, but also to avenge those Christians who had been persecuted by the heathen to guarantee that pilgrimages to the Holy Land should not be harassed and attacked, as was imagined to be the case in the preceding years. Although these rumours were unfounded, the idea of the persecution of Christian pilgrims and of the destruction and pillaging of Christian Churches and settlements was a motif to be found in crusading propaganda and chronicles from the outset<sup>142</sup>, in connection with the spirit of humility and Christian charity necessary for the pilgrim-Crusader. The Christians of the East were expelled from their homes which they had inherited from their fathers<sup>143</sup>:

Germani fratres vestri, contubernales vestri, couterini vestri (nam ejusdem Christi et ejusdem Ecclesiae filii estis), in ipsis suis domibus haereditariis, vel alienis dominis mancipantur, vel ex ipsis exploduntur, aut inter nos mendicant; aut, quod gravius est, in ipsis suis patrimoniis venales exulant et vapulant.



Even in later crusading sources, when the journey to Jerusalem was no longer so dangerous because of the setting up of the Latin states, the theme of the ravaging of other parts of the Holy Land remained important, and St. Bernard could remind the people of Bohemia of the evil done to God's promised land<sup>144</sup>:

Hanc repromissionis terram coeperunt occupare maligni,  
et nisi fuerit qui resistat, ad ipsum inhiant nostrae  
religionis sacrarium, lectumque ipsum maculare  
conantur, in quo propter nos obdormivit vita nostra in  
morte, et profanare loca sanctorum, loca dico Agni  
immaculati purpurata cruore.

This invasion of the Holy Land was seen as the second Passion of Christ<sup>145</sup>, and after the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin, the accounts of heathen atrocities increased considerably<sup>146</sup>.

The religious importance of Jerusalem for the Middle Ages, and the interest associated by the lay population with the city from pilgrimage and Crusade, meant that a reflection of such ideas in vernacular literature was inevitable. This interest in the Holy Land must, however, in the Rolandslied and Willehalm be restricted to the spiritualised idea of Jerusalem, and to the inheritance due to the chosen army of God, as both poems are ostensibly not concerned with a campaign to the Holy Land. The heathen destruction of churches and the persecution described at the outset of Konrad's poem is reminiscent of crusading chronicles:

die heiden tûnt uns grozin scadin;  
si ritent in diu lant,  
si stiftint rûb unde brant.  
di gotes hus si storent,  
daz lut si hin furent  
unt opherent si den apgoten;  
daz ist des tuvelis spot.

RL 200

205

Wolfram also describes the atrocities committed by the heathen in Willehalm's crusading sermon:

den getouften wiben sint gesniten	Wh. 297,14
abe die brüste, gemartert sint ir kint,	297,15
die man in gar erslagen sint	
und ûf gesazt ze manegem zil:	
zwer dar zuo schiezen wil,	
den hânt die heiden desten baz.	
alsus hât Tîbalt sîner haz	297,20
und Terramêr der starke	
volbrâht ûf mîner marke.	

- a marked contrast to the otherwise comparatively favourable picture of the heathen painted by Wolfram<sup>147</sup>. Associated with the heavenly reward due to the Christian army in battle is the theme of Christ's heritage to man - or erbe - which is the sole direct reference to pilgrimage-crusading motifs in the narrow sense in either poem. The Christian soldiers gain the heavenly kingdom of God which is God's heritage to his chosen people:

nu scul wir heim gahen	RL 194
an unser alt erben,	195
daz wir hi irweruen	
daz wir daz himilriche buwen,	
des scul wir gote wol getruwen.	

Konrad uses MHG riche on the Christian side predominantly to refer to the kingdom of God or to the imperial civitas Dei ruled by Karl, but on the heathen side to refer to the earthly feudal kingdom over which Marsilie and Baligan reign as earthly rulers. The erbe-lant of the Christians refers predominantly to the heavenly kingdom of Jerusalem, which, as pilgrims of God (RL 245), his servants receive as his heritage, while for the heathen the erbe refers purely to the material feudal heritage of a fief passed from one lord to another or to Baligan's feudal kingdom<sup>148</sup>. In the final battle Baligan considers his inherited empire to have been invaded by Karl<sup>149</sup>:

mines laides wil ich dich manen:	RL 8469
min sun hastu mir erslagen,	8470
min riche is allez wste,	
tot ligent mine fürsten;	
min erbe hastu besezen:	

But Karl's explanation of his heavenly heritage is a transcendental image of God's heavenly kingdom<sup>150</sup>:

min erbe wolt ich gerne besitzin	RL 8480
daz mir uon angenge gegarwet ist,	
dar mich der heilige Christ	
mit sinem tiuren blöte erküfet hat.	

Wolfram, on the other hand, uses the same epithet almost exclusively in the material sense, and Terramer can refer to his descent from Pompey in this way:

der edel Pompêjus,	Wh. 338,26
von des geslehte ich bin erborn,	
(ich enhân die vorderunge niht verlorn)	
der wart von roemescher krône vertriben.	
zunrehte ist manec künec beliben	338,30
dâ sît ûf mînem erbe:	339,1

This is Terramer's claim to the title of Roman Emperor in Louis' stead, and signals the escalation of the conflict in the second battle. Wolfram refers to the Christian heritage only once in his poem, but in the very significant Toleranzrede by Gyburg before the second battle, in which the heathen are presented as brave warriors not to be hewn down like cattle but to be treated with the same spirit of tolerance and charity as a fellow Christian<sup>151</sup>. Wolfram represents the medieval theological standpoint that mankind is tempted by the Devil, but that the fallen angels fell of their own free will, and although they still act as if they belonged to the tenth choir, this is really the heritage of those who lead their lives in such a way as never to feel God's anger<sup>152</sup>:

der mensche wart durch rât verlorn:	Wh. 308,19
der engel hât sich selbe erkorn	308,20
zer êwigen vlüste	
mit sîner âküste	

und alle, die im gestuonden,	Wh. 308,23
die selben riuwe vunden.	
die varnt noch hiute dem menschen bi,	308,25
als ob der kôr ir erbe sî,	
der den ist zerbe lâzen,	
die sich des kunnen mâzen,	
daz gotes zorn erwirbet,	
des saelde niht verdirbet.	308,30

Wolfram demands of the Christian knight an attitude of submission to God's will, which includes a more humane and tolerant relationship towards heathen knights but does not exclude battles against them for the purpose of conversion and enlightenment, in return for which the Christian knight wins a place in the tenth choir of angels<sup>153</sup>. This attitude of submission to God's will also includes a certain erbarmede (Wh. 309,6 ff.) and humility without which the Christian heritage can never be attained, a humility which the fallen angels had refused to show God<sup>154</sup>.

The Spielmannsdichtung and the crusading lyric, in contrast to Wolfram's and Konrad's poem, either reflect the atmosphere of crusading campaigns in general or represent propaganda for a particular campaign, and the motifs associated with Jerusalem and the Holy Land are here altogether more concrete in their application. In the Kaiserchronik, the heathen persecution of Christians is an ever-present motif. The heathen destroy Jerusalem under Cosdras, an undertaking later to be avenged by Heraclius<sup>155</sup>:

Jerusalēm diu maere	Kchr. 7214
diu stuont wuoste und laere:	7215
die haiden habeten si zestôret,	
die mûre gar zevuoret.	

and the massacre of Christians in the city of Edessa shortly before the Second Crusade is seen as the second martyrdom of Christ, as in crusading historiography:

dâ wart der waltunde got	Kchr. 17260
anderstunt gemarterôt.	

der christen marter wart grôz,  
daz pluot ze den turn ûz flôz,  
da genas liuzel dehain wîp oder man.

Kchr. 17262

The account of the First Crusade contains elements akin to the pilgrimage, as the constant aim is the Holy Land, the Holy Sepulchre and the city of Jerusalem<sup>156</sup>:

mîn trâhtîn gab ir den sin:  
si nam ir haimliche man,  
si wolte ze dem hailigen grabe varn.

Kchr. 16601

Herzog Ernst also sets off with Jerusalem and the Holy Land as the aim of his partly penitential mission, although he is in no particular hurry to arrive at his destination<sup>157</sup>. Ernst's first act on arriving at Jerusalem is, as was the first task of the pilgrim-Crusader, to pray and make sacrifices for his sins at the Holy Sepulchre:

dô fuorten sie den hêren  
in daz münster al zehant.  
aldâ opherte der wîgant  
gote ze êren ûf sîn grap.

HE 5676

Nevertheless, his subsequent campaigns against the heathen in and around Jerusalem, while obviously of crusading type, are recounted with little detail other than that necessary to enhance Ernst's prowess (HE 5688-95; 5701 f.; 5762 f.), although the protection of the pilgrim routes is the aim of these battles (HE 5704 f.). Other Spielmannsepen contain fleeting contemporary references to Jerusalem and to crusading or pilgrim movements. The poet of König Rother predicts that Ymelot will lose his life at Jerusalem (Roth. 2570), and the description of heathen atrocities against the Christian pilgrims is very typical of the crusading period:

Do reit der koninc ymelot.  
Vnde uorte manigin helit got.  
Har zo criehe indaz lant.  
Vnde stite rovf vnde brant.

Roth. 3797

3800

The fragmentary Graf Rudolf also presents the city of Jerusalem and the freeing of the Holy Sepulchre as the aim of the Crusade:

durch die heiligen himel wanne	GR $\beta$ 23
daz ir wollet ledigen daz grap	
da got selbe inne lach.	25
do huben sie sich dannen	B 20
zu Ierusalem vur die stat	

and the centre of the crusading activity is Jerusalem (GR D 42 ff.), but Rudolf's later campaigns for heathen lords against the Christians are more those of an adventuring knight, although the Third Crusade knew of such alliances<sup>158</sup>. In the Oswald legend, during the Raven's account of Pamige's acknowledgement of her belief in Christianity, she swears allegiance to the Holy Sepulchre as the mater fidei:

si welle, obe got wil, werden dîn wîp,	MOsw. 1374
deme heiligen grabe welle si werden	
undertân	1375
unde an Jêsum Krist gelouben hân.	

and the Viennese MS mentions the aim of a similar Christian prince, Orendel, to win the Holy Sepulchre:

der hiz meister Ise,	WOsw. 674
ein fischer gut und wise,	673
der den grawen roc bevant,	675
damit her den kunig Orendel bewant,	676
daz her daz heilige grap gewan.	678

Orendel is the minstrel epic which is closest in spirit to the pilgrim-Crusader view of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, although the theme of Brautwerbung overlays at least Orendel's first expedition. Orendel is introduced as a young king who owed his allegiance to the Holy Sepulchre as the fount of Christianity:

ime wart underdan daz heilige grap unsers Or.	174
heren	
und daz lant zu Jerusaleme.	175

His expedition is not only to gain a bride but also conceived in terms of a pilgrimage-Crusade. The

participants are to reject the material considerations of this world and in a spirit of self-sacrifice and of total dedication to swear allegiance to the Holy Sepulchre<sup>159</sup>:

und sehent, daz ir keinen man twingent      Or. 266  
 uber sinen frien willen,  
 er enwolle dan vil geswinde  
 verzihen uf wip und kinde  
 und enwolle sinen lip und sine sele      270  
 oppern dem heiligen grabe unsers heren.

The whole expedition is seen in terms of a pilgrimage to the Holy Lard<sup>160</sup>:

do sie furen gein Jerusaleme in dem lande, Or. 454  
 do quamen sie also nahen,      455  
 daz sie daz heilige grap sahen.

- a pilgrimage to which Orendel has made a solemn vow (Or. 780). Because of this vow, the Virgin Mary intercedes with Christ to aid his servant (Or. 385 ff.; 700 ff.; 1400 ff.; etc.), and on attaining his goal, Orendel sacrifices the rest of his life to the Holy Sepulchre:

do er daz heilige grap ane sach,      Or. 828  
 daz wort er gutlichen sprach:  
 'heilgez grap unsers heren,      830  
 ich enhaben nit oppers mere  
 dan minen lip und mine sele,  
 daz entphach hude, heilgez grap unsers heren.'

- a motif which is repeated throughout the poem<sup>161</sup>. His spiritual preparations before battle are reminiscent of the pilgrim's sacrifice at the goal of his penance<sup>162</sup>:

er ging also gerihte,      Or. 2738  
 da er daz heilige grap wiste,  
 er liez sich schone uf sine knie,      2740  
 unsern heren bat er ie  
 also rehte dugentlichen  
 also det ouch frouw Bride die kunigin riche.

and even after Jerusalem has been recaptured, Bride's journey to the city is planned in terms of a penitential pilgrimage:

heizent mir balde entspringen,      Or. 3242  
 bilgerin cleider bringen,  
 ich wil wallen gein Jerusaleme in daz  
 lant ....

frouw Bride leite an ir bilgrin gewant      Or. 3248  
und wolt wallen gein Jerusaleme in daz  
lant,

although the pilgrim's tunic could be seen in terms of a disguise<sup>163</sup>. The depiction of the heathen destruction of Jerusalem towards the end of the poem is in direct parallel to the propaganda used to fire enthusiasm for the First Crusade<sup>164</sup>, and the plans by the heathen Minold to invade the Christian Empire and Trier, with its parallels to the Rolandslied and Willehalm<sup>165</sup>, extend the motif even further: in terms reminiscent of a ḡihād, the heathen king sees himself as the rightful leader of the Christian Empire in material terms<sup>166</sup>:

"danne wil ich faren uber mere      Or. 3268  
mit eime kreftigen here  
fur die guden stat zu Triere.      3270  
die wil ich brechen und zufenen,  
den Grawen Roc wil ich fahen  
und an einen galgen hahen,  
meister Isen wil ich blenden,  
daz enmac in nieman erwenden."      3275

In this sense, the motifs of Jerusalem and the penitential attitude of the pilgrim-Crusader, as well as the depiction of the heathen atrocities, are extended to include the Weltherrschaftsgedanke more closely associated with the principles of the imperial holy war.

The crusading lyric is to a great extent devoted to an appeal for the crusading idea, and depiction of the heathen atrocities is as prevalent in these poems as in the crusading chronicles. Walther describes the heathen ravaging of the Holy Land and sees the destruction of the holy places as their aim. The Western knights seem to be content to leave Jerusalem to her fate:

ez ist wol kunt uns allen,      L 78,10  
wie jâmerlîch ez stât,  
daz hêre lant vil reine,



gar helfelôs und eine.	<u>L</u> 78,13
Ierusalêm, nû weine:	
wie dîn vergezzen ist!	78,15
der heiden überhêre	
hât dich verschelket sêre.	

Walther's appeal is unmistakable - freedom for the Holy Sepulchre (L 13, 18; 77, 23), and he appeals for heavenly aid to those Crusaders fighting in God's name to achieve this goal:

lâ dich erbarmen, Krist,	<u>L</u> 78,19
mit welher nôt si ringen,	78,20
die dort den borgen dingen.	
dazs uns alsô betwingen,	
daz wende in kurzer frist.	

For Albrecht von Johansdorf, all those who are unwilling to follow Christ's example of self-sacrifice, and who can feel no pity for the plight of Jerusalem and of their fellow-Christians in the Holy Land, are condemned to lose God's reward:

swen nu sîn crûce und sîn grap niht	
wil erbarmen,	<u>MF</u> 89,30
daz sint von im die saelden armen.	

Those who do take part in the Crusade are protecting God's heritage to man, a holy place sanctified by Christ's life and ministry<sup>167</sup>:

Die hinnen varn, die sagen durch got	<u>MF</u> 89,21
daz Iersalêm der reinen stat und ouch	
dem lande	
helfe noch nie noeter wart.	

The aim of the Crusader is, like that of the pilgrim, to see the Holy Land and contribute his efforts to its freedom, but above all to expiate his own sins as the pilgrim before him:

Allerêrst lebe ich mir werde,	<u>L</u> 14,38
sît mîn sündic ouge siht	
daz reine lant und ouch die erde	15,1
der man sô vil êren giht.	
Mirst geschehen des ich ie bat,	
ich bin komen an die stat	
dâ got mennischlichen trat.	15,5

The Holy Land is the setting for the Last Judgement, and the Christian knight can best prepare himself for this by expiating his sins and protecting widows, orphans and the poor pilgrims from the heathen, a duty he has as a knight<sup>168</sup>:

In diz lant hât er gesprochen	L 16,8
einen angeslîchen tac,	
dâ diu witwe wirt gerochen	16,10
und der weise klagen mac	
und der arme den gewalt	
der dâ wirt an ime gestalt.	
wol im dort, der hie vergalt!	

The Holy Land is not only an inheritance for the Christian religion, but a holy place for Islam and the Jews as well, although the only true claim to this heritage is the Christian one:

Kristen juden und die heiden	L 16,29
jehent daz diz ir erbe sî:	16,30
got müez ez ze rehte scheiden	
durch die sîne namen drî.	
al diu welt diu strîtet her:	
wer sîn an der rechten ger:	
reht ist daz er uns gewer.	16,35

This erbe has been usurped by the heathen forces, and the poet calls on God to aid the Crusader in meting out God's justice and regaining the Christian heritage on this earth and so in heaven<sup>169</sup>:

Rich, hêrre, dich und dîne muoter,	
megde kint,	L 10,9
an den die iuwers erbelandes vînde sint.	10,10
lâ dir den kristen zuo den heiden sîn	
alsô den wint,	10,11
wan si meinent beide dich mit ganzen	
triuwen kleine.	10,15
an dîner râche gegen in, hêrre vater,	
niht erwint:	10,13

God is capable of fulfilling this task alone, but he gives his servants a chance to gain heavenly reward (MF 89,24-9).

The goal of attaining Jerusalem is for both Crusader and pilgrim the discharging of his vow and the fulfilment of the act of expiation for his sins. The aim of the Crusader

is above all to free God's earthly heritage to mankind in the form of the places hallowed by Christ's life, and to protect them and all Christians living in the Holy Land or pilgrimaging to the holy places from persecution by the heathen - a task that is at once divine and also incumbent on the knight in his chivalric profession. All those disregarding the appeal for a true Christian spirit of caritas will experience God's anger on the Day of Judgement. The penitential nature of the Crusade, the aim of Jerusalem and the compassio or charity for the fellow-Christians are thus concepts closely connected with the pilgrimage which vernacular crusading literature adopts freely. At the same time, the Crusade is seen in a spiritualised manner, and the Christian view of life as a pilgrimage to the heavenly Jerusalem becomes associated, both in crusading propaganda and in vernacular literature, with the freeing of God's earthly heritage in Palestine. By endeavouring to free the one, the Crusaders became New Israelites striving to find the Promised Land in heaven. This spiritualised view of crusading activity allows the vernacular expression of this motif to be applied in situations where the poet's material is not "crusading" in the restricted sense of the word, but more associated with events of an imperial holy war. A parallel is here noticeable between the application of historical crusading epithets during expeditions no longer associated with the pilgrimage idea (e. g. against the Slavs), and the application of such epithets in vernacular literature concerned with military campaigns against the heathen outside the broad area of the Holy Land (the Rolandslied and Willehalm)<sup>170</sup>.

4. Apart from the formalistic parallels and the goal of Jerusalem, the likenesses between pilgrim and Crusader are most recognisable in the attitude and the frame of mind in which both Crusade and pilgrimage were undertaken. These journeys to the Holy Land were undertaken in a spirit of penitence, as an act of penance for sins committed, and the clergy laid emphasis on humility as the most important virtue to be practised by armed and unarmed pilgrim. Those actions normally associated in the Church's history with penance - fasting and general abstinence, the use of sackcloth and ashes, weeping, rending one's garments, sleeping on the ground, sacrifice, almsgiving, etc.<sup>171</sup> - were thus replaceable by a pilgrimage and later by a Crusade, and penance in the latter expedition was extended to include battles against the heathen to free the Holy Land and to make it safe for unarmed pilgrims. The discharging of a pilgrim's vow meant that the Church relaxed its demand for earthly punishment of sin, as long as confession and a penitent spirit had preceded the act of penance. For both Crusader and pilgrim this brought about a reconciliation with God, or, for those undertaking the expedition voluntarily from a spirit of religious devotion, an increase in the number of good works offered to him<sup>172</sup>.

It is in the popular interpretation of Urban II's proclamation of an indulgence that the difference between pilgrimage and Crusade becomes clear with respect to the benefits gained by the individual participant, and although the difference at first appears to be only one of degree, for the Christian of the Middle Ages the difference was a very important one. A pilgrimage indulgence only affected the

Church's temporal punishment for sin; the crusading indulgence was almost immediately accepted as including forgiveness of the sins themselves in return for a journey to the Holy Land, and a chance to gain heavenly reward in a state of purity akin to that attained by the Christian on baptism. Purgatory and God's punishment for sins already confessed on this earth could be avoided, so that death on this expedition guaranteed direct acceptance into heaven. Both Popes Leo IV and John VIII had prepared the way for the indulgence declared by Urban II<sup>173</sup>, although it had not been until Leo IX's plans for Christian chivalry to serve the Church with arms that the promise of heavenly reward was transferred to the living<sup>174</sup>. Urban's indulgence was intended to relax the temporal punishment for sin imposed by the Church: he declared a remissio poenitentiae which was adopted into Church propaganda as the more popular remissio peccatorum<sup>175</sup>. "Beherrschend für die Kreuzpredigt wird der populäre Kreuzzugsgedanke, daß der reuige und bußfertige Pilger, der auf der bewaffneten Wallfahrt zur Befreiung des Heiligen Grabes und des Heiligen Landes sein Leben opfert, den Himmel und das ewige Leben im Himmel erwerbe, und als Märtyrer Christi die Siegespalme tragen werde"<sup>176</sup>.

The various accounts of Urban's speech at Clermont emphasise his promise of remission of sins in return for the knight's imitatio Christi and a penitent service of God<sup>177</sup>. Despite the popular interpretation of this indulgence, the second canon of the Council of Clermont makes it clear that Urban intended only the absolution of earthly penance<sup>178</sup>:

... iter illud pro omni poenitentia reputetur.

and his letter to the Bolognese refers in terms clearly

reminiscent of this to forgiveness of the earthly punishment for sin<sup>179</sup>:

Sciatis autem eis omnibus, qui illuc non terreni commodi cupiditate sed pro sola animae suae salute et Ecclesiae liberatione profecti fuerint, paenitentiam totam peccatorum, de quibus veram et perfectam confessionem fecerint, ... dimitimus ...

Nevertheless, Urban prepared the wider interpretation of his own indulgence by chroniclers and later propagandists in a letter to the people of Flanders, where he himself used the more popular epithet remissio peccatorum<sup>180</sup>. Urban promised this same forgiveness of sins to those nobles in Catalonia who aided in the rebuilding of the town and Church of Tarragona<sup>181</sup>.

Henceforth, this usage of remissio peccatorum was to be found in all papal propaganda promising heavenly reward for the Crusaders' efforts in Spain and the Holy Land<sup>182</sup>. Whereas this papal propaganda was at times ambiguous due to its acceptance of the popular epithet remissio peccatorum, while predominantly intending the temporal punishment of sin, the chronicles adopted the popular understanding of the plenary indulgence immediately. The author of the Gesta Francorum enumerated the many spiritual preparations for battle which included a repetition of the plenary indulgence declared by the Pope<sup>183</sup>:

Tandem triduanis expletis ieiuniis, et processionibus celebratis, ab una ecclesia in aliam, de peccatis suis confessi sunt et absoluti, fideliterque corpori et sanguini Christi communicauerunt, datisque elemosinis fecerunt celebrari missas.

The religious preparations by the first Crusaders before battle with the heathen at Antioch, Caesarea and in Asia Minor presented the confession necessary for absolution, the communion in which God's protection is given, the indulgence purifying them of their sins and the benediction

of the field sermon including them in the peace of God<sup>184</sup>. The form of this absolution was later laid down in liturgical form, where the Church also referred to the penitence, the plenary indulgence and the regained purity of the absolved Crusader<sup>185</sup>:

Dominus noster Iesus Christus te absoluat et ego auctoritate eiusdem ... te absoluo a peccatis tuis, que michi modo confessus es et que libenter confitereris, si memorie occurrerent, in nomine patris, etc. Eadem auctoritate tibi plenissimam omnium peccatorum remissionem impendo ac innocencie baptismali te restituo sanctisque angelis animam tuam recomendo, ut, si contra Turcos pergendo mori te contingat, eam sine mora et sine purgatorii pene degustacione mox ad regna celestia te referant.

A comparison with blessings of the pilgrims' staff and scrip in the 11th Century shows that here, too, the idea of a plenary indulgence had gradually taken root in the liturgical services<sup>186</sup>:

... te supplici deuotione deprecamur, ut ... hos signaculo Sancti Petri adornandos ab omnibus peccatis absoluas, quo in die iudicii ab impiis segregati in dextera sint parte coronandi ... Accipite has capsellas et hos fustes ... ut ... mereamini in hoc seculo accipere remissionem omnium peccatorum et in futuro consortium omnium bonorum.

The crusading idea found in this popular interpretation of the crusading indulgence its most effective propaganda motif - a motif based on the pilgrimage indulgence but in popular opinion going much further. Later papal encyclicals were characterised by an increasing transcendentalisation of absolution and by an increasing emphasis on the spiritual value of the indulgence for the Crusader in the next world<sup>187</sup>. The emphasis on the spiritual value of the crusading vow for the knight is a motif commonly adopted into vernacular literature<sup>188</sup>, but significantly enough, of the works under discussion, Konrad's Rolandslied is the only major poem expressly to mention absolution and the

crusading indulgence and thus to capture the crusading atmosphere most clearly. Bishop Turpin absolves the Christian army of all sin, and it is quite clear that he means the transcendental punishment for sin, as the Christians are seen to be as pure and free from sin as a newly born child:

mit den wortin sprechen wir iu antlaz.	RL 3929
in der warheit sage wir iu daz:	3930
uor gote birt ir inbunten	
uon allin werltlichen sunden	
sam ain niuborn westebarn.	
swaz ir der haiden hiute müget erslan,	
daz setze ich iu cebüze. ...	3935
do segenot si der herre;	3938
er sprach in indulgentiā:	
der antlaz was uor gote ze himele getan.	3940

The penance here imposed by the Bishop is to kill as many heathen as possible, a motif already present in the Chanson (ChdR 1138), and illustrative at the same time of the unambivalent attitude towards the heathen as evil to be destroyed or converted associated with the missionary holy war. Konrad later repeats this motif with emphasis on the purification process and on the similarity to the state of baptism in which the Christian knights find themselves<sup>189</sup>:

swaz si gote in der toufe gehiezen,	RL 5765
wi war si daz allez liezen!	
si waren lutter unt raine	
ane rost unt ane mailen,	
sam diu heiligen chindelin	
di durch selben minen trechtin	5770
Herodes hiez erslahen.	

Turpin also equates the communion wafer with the manna given to the Israelites, and he sees the approaching battle as a journey home to God:

in der wüste gab er in daz himilprot.	RL 5750
der ruche ouch uns gewisen!	
enphahet iwer wege wise	
ze unser haim uerte!	

The pending battle is preceded by the taking of communion and by the confession of sins so that they are purified in



heart and spirit on entering battle, and, in the event of death, enter heaven immediately<sup>190</sup>:

Do di helde uernamen	<u>RL</u> 3393
daz di haiden mit samnunge waren,	
si baten ir ewarte	3395
daz si sich garten.	
zu ir ambachte si fiengen,	
den gotes lichenamē si enphiengen.	
si uielen ir uenie,	

These spiritual preparations for battle are also clearly stated in Orendel, where the Christian king prepares himself for the eventuality of his death in battle against the heathen:

do hiez er balde entspringen,	<u>Or.</u> 1989
einen briester dar bringen,	1990
der ime eine messe sanc.	
do bewarte sich der wigant,	
also ez got wolte,	
daz er iegenode sterben solte.	

In Herzog Ernst, Ernst and his followers are aware of the necessity of repentance and confession when faced with danger, so that God may accept them into heaven on their death<sup>191</sup>:

dō tātē die helde guote	<u>HE</u> 3986
nāch des fürsten rāte	
und schuofen ir dinc drāte	
mit allen dingen hin ze gote	
und bekliben an sime gebote	3990
mit bihte und mit buoze,	
mit hôher unmuoze,	
die man gēn gote haben sol:	
dā mite bereiten sie sich wol.	

and in Graf Rudolf, the hero confesses his sins to God when faced with danger:

gote vom himele her dicke gehiez	<u>GR</u> Gb 48
groz wandel vor sine missetat.	

Such confession is necessary for the knight's salvation even when the service he is rendering is for a heathen noble (Parz. 106,19-23). Willehalm's question to Vivianz on the battle field of Alischanz contains the same desire

by the Christian knight to confess and partake of communion so that the soul may enter directly into God's presence<sup>192</sup>:

... "hâstû noch genomen,	Wh. 65,11
dâ mit diu sêle dîn sol komen	
mit vreuden vûr die trînitât?	
spraeche dû bîhte? gap dir rât	
inder kein getoufter man,	65,15
sît ich die vlust an dir gewan?"	

In the same way, the Christian army during the last battle has received absolution and the penance required for their sins is their efforts against the heathen foes (Wh. 322,25)<sup>193</sup>.

5. The idea of the Crusade as an armed pilgrimage, and of participation in the armed expedition as participating in the same form of expiation for sin, was common at the outset of the crusading period, and takes up a central position in the vernacular crusading literature of the period. Nevertheless, the crusading idea adopted and developed the motifs of the pilgrimage in the same way as it adopted and developed the ideas of the holy war and of the feudal social order to its own advantage, and in the second part of our study it will be necessary to examine how far the vernacular literature retained the presentation of these motifs in their original fullness, and how far the changing Crusade idea influenced the presentation of crusading piety and of the reward available to the knight in combat against the heathen. The first part of this study has shown that the concepts associated with the imperial holy war, the feudal social system and the pilgrimage were so central to medieval society that their reflection in MHG literature is inevitable. However, their application retains much of their original meaning and can only be referred to as "crusading" with reservations. In the Kaiserchronik, the Rolandslied

and Willehalm, the attitude towards the heathen retains much of the aura of the imperial holy war, because it is the Emperor who leads the Christian army into battle. It is in the combination of redemptive chivalry and imperial feudalism that pre-crusading and crusading thought are integrated<sup>194</sup>. The formalistic terminology of the pilgrimage presented the background for the crusading indulgence, but in vernacular poems concerned with campaigns against the heathen outside the Holy Land it is necessary for a spiritualization of the crusading idea to have taken place for such concepts as God's heritage and absolution to be reflected with crusading connotations. The second part of our study concentrates on crusading concepts arising during the crusading period, and although this first section has shown the direction in which the changes in these concepts noticeable in vernacular literature tended to lie, the second part analyses more clearly how the presentation of the complex crusading idea in MEG literature was equally dependent on the developments experienced by those poets writing during this period of intense religious and political upheaval.

Footnotes to Chapter 3

- 1 Mayer, Geschichte, p. 35; Röhricht, Historisches Taschenbuch 5 (1875), pp. 326 f.; cf. also for the returning of St. Paul to Jerusalem: Romans, xv, 25 f., and 31; I Cor., xvi, 3 ff.; Gal., i, 18 f.; ii, 1; etc.
- 2 Mayer, Geschichte, p. 35; Röhricht, Historisches Taschenbuch 5 (1875), p. 328: quoted also by Bishop Ivo of Canute in De Poenitentia, Cap. 65, MPL 161, 877 C.
- 3 Cf. Röhricht, Historisches Taschenbuch 5 (1875), p. 370, note 13; S. Mähl, "Jerusalem in mittelalterlicher Sicht", Die Welt als Geschichte 22 (1962), pp. 11-26, here p. 15 and note 20; B. Kötting, Peregrinatio Religiosa, Wallfahrten in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen in der alten Kirche, Regensburg/Münster (Westf.), 1950 (Forschungen zur Volkskunde, 33-35), pp. 83 ff.
- 4 Mähl, Die Welt als Geschichte 22 (1962), p. 17.
- 5 Ibid., pp. 17-20; this belief was based on Jewish sources, and rested in Christian theology on a false exegesis of Ezekiel v, 5 and Psalm lxxiii, 12. Cf. also in crusading sources, Robert the Monk, RHC III, 729 A and Rousset, Les Origines, p. 79.
- 6 Mähl, Die Welt als Geschichte 22 (1962), p. 20
- 7 Ibid., pp. 20 ff.; Cf. N. Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millenium, London, 1970, pp. 35 f., 85 f.
- 8 Mähl, Die Welt als Geschichte 22 (1962), pp. 22 f.; Cohn, Pursuit, p. 35.
- 9 Cohn, Pursuit, p. 72; Röhricht, Historisches Taschenbuch 5 (1875), pp. 339 ff.; Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 276 ff.
- 10 Mähl, Die Welt als Geschichte 22 (1962), p. 24; cf. Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 280 f.
- 11 Mähl, Die Welt als Geschichte 22 (1962), pp. 24 f. Cf. Gal., iv, 24 ff. and Kötting, Peregrinatio Religiosa, pp. 302 ff.
- 12 Kötting, Peregrinatio Religiosa, pp. 329 f.
- 13 Mayer, Geschichte, p. 35
- 14 E. R. Labande, "Pilgrimages", in New Catholic Encyclopaedia, Vol. XI, New York, etc., 1968, p. 367.
- 15 Mayer, Geschichte, p. 35; see also pp. 279 ff.
- 16 Röhricht, Historisches Taschenbuch 5 (1875), p. 354.
- 17 Ibid., p. 352.
- 18 Villey, La Croisade, p. 86.

- 19 Ibid., cf. M. Bouquet et al., Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France (RHGF), New Series, Paris, 1899 ff., Vol. V, 627 A.
- 20 Franz, Die kirchlichen Benediktionen, II, pp. 262 f.
- 21 Ibid., pp. 272 f.
- 22 Ibid., p. 273; Röhricht, Historisches Taschenbuch 5 (1875), pp. 354 f. In England the situation was reversed, for there is ample evidence to show that the ceremony for taking the Cross as a Crusader developed out of the ceremony for blessing the insignia of the pilgrim - cf. Brundage, Traditio 22 (1966), pp. 291 ff. The development of the crusading vow as a binding obligation on the Crusader occurred later; cf. J. A. Brundage, "The Votive Obligations of Crusaders, The Development of a Canonistic Doctrine", Traditio 24 (1968), pp. 77-118.
- 23 MGH SS VI, 214,42-4. Here the insignia of the pilgrim (staff and scrip) are mentioned in the same breath as the sword of the Crusader. Cf. also Franz, Die kirchlichen Benediktionen, II, pp. 273 and 275 ff.
- 24 Quoted in Franz, Die kirchlichen Benediktionen, p. 274, note 8.
- 25 Cf. ibid., p. 276.
- 26 Cf. Tobias, xii, 15.
- 27 Quoted in Franz, Die kirchlichen Benediktionen, II, p. 280; cf. also the text of the Ely Pontifical in Brundage, Traditio 22 (1966), pp. 303 ff.
- 28 Cf. Franz, Die kirchlichen Benediktionen, II, p. 278.
- 29 For the above, cf. Labande, in New Catholic Encyclopaedia, XI, p. 370.
- 30 Runciman, History, I, pp. 60 ff.; Mayer, Geschichte, p. 20; Röhricht, Geschichte des 1. Kreuzzuges, Exkurs I, pp. 226 ff.
- 31 Mayer, Geschichte, p. 20; Runciman, History, I, pp. 35 f.
- 32 Röhricht, Historisches Taschenbuch 5 (1875), p. 345.
- 33 Mayer, Geschichte, p. 19; Cohn, Pursuit, pp. 33 ff.; cf. II Thess., ii, 3-12. The fervour by individual pilgrims to the Holy Land in this year is historically documented: cf. the quotation in L'europe au moyen âge: Documents expliqués, Vol. II: Fin IX<sup>e</sup> siècle - Fin XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (Collection U, Série Histoire médiévale, ed. G. Duby), Paris, 1969, p. 275:  
 Per idem tempus ex universo orbe tam innumerabilis multitudo coepit confluere ad sepulcrum Salvatoris Hierosolymis, quantam nullus hominum prius sperare poterat: primitus enim ordo inferioris plebus; deinde vero mediocres; posthaec permaximi quique reges, et comites ac praesules. Ad ultimum vero,

quod nunquam contigerat, mulieres multae nobiles cum pauperioribus illuc perrexere. Pluribus enim erat mentis desiderium mori, priusquam ad propria reverterentur.

- 34 Runciman, History, I, pp. 59 ff.; at this time the Reconquista was also registering its first successes in Spain, cf. ibid., pp. 89 ff.; Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 88 f.; Rousset, Les Origines, pp. 31 ff.
- 35 Cf. above, Chapter 2, pp. 151 ff.; Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 149 ff.
- 36 Röhricht, Historisches Taschenbuch 5 (1875), pp. 347 ff.
- 37 Runciman, History, I, pp. 60 ff.
- 38 Ibid., pp. 64 ff.
- 39 Ibid., pp. 75 ff.
- 40 Mayer, Geschichte, p. 12.
- 41 Ibid., pp. 13 f.; Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 301 ff.
- 42 Mayer, Geschichte, p. 21; cf. the title of Wollschläger's Die bewaffneten Wallfahrten; Bréhier, L'Eglise et l'Orient au moyen âge, p. 54; Rousset, Les Origines, p. 21; cf. also P. Rousset, "L'idée de Croisade chez les chroniqueurs d'Occident", in Relazioni del X. Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche, Tome III, Storia del medioevo (ed. G. P. Bognetti), Florence, 1955, pp. 547-63, especially p. 550.
- 43 Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 307; Cowdrey, History 55 (1970), p. 178.
- 44 Rousset, in Relazioni, III, p. 553; cf. also Rousset, Les Origines, p. 71.
- 45 These epithets are to be found in great numbers in the chronicles of the First and subsequent Crusades as well as in the crusading letters, bulls and sermons. Cf. for detailed references Rousset, Les Origines, pp. 70 f. and in Relazioni, III, pp. 552 f.; G. Constable, "The Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries", Traditio 9 (1953), pp. 213-79, especially pp. 237 f., note 130; also Mayer, Geschichte, p. 21; Villey, La Croisade, pp. 84 ff.; Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 314 f., wrongly sees the emphasis of most of these epithets to be on the military rather than the pilgrim content. The epithets crucesignati and crucizare are rare at this time, although the former is used often to bring out the importance of the sign of the Cross as symbol of the crusading vow. The author of the Gesta Francorum uses peregrini for foot soldiers and poor pilgrims on the First Crusade, and the more general milites Christi for knights and leaders, cf. p. 81 (X,xxxiii).
- 46 D. C. Munro, "A Crusader", Speculum 7 (1932), pp. 321-35.

- 47 Matth., xvi, 24; Gesta Francorum, p. 1 (I, i). Urban II is generally believed to have used this quotation at Clermont; cf. Schwerin, Die Aufrufe der Päpste, p. 45.
- 48 Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio, XX, 816 E. The fourth canon is also of interest in that it forbids the use of arms by priests:  
     Ne aliquis clericus arma deferat. (817 A)  
 Cf. Munro, AHR 11 (1906), p. 238 and Rousset, Les Origines, p. 55.
- 49 William of Tyre emphasised the indulgence as remission of the earthly penance for sin, RHC I, i, 41 f.; Robert the Monk saw the Crusader's journey as representing remission of the sins themselves, RHC III, 729 B; William of Malmesbury emphasised the caritas of the Crusaders, William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum Anglorum, ed. W. Stubbs, London, 1889 (Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi Scriptores 90, ii), Vol. II, p. 394. Cf. Otto of Freising, Chronik, p. 500, 18-21 (VII, 2) and Cramer, Palästinahefte 17-20 (1939), pp. 111 ff. The author of the Gesta Francorum saw the hardships of the journey as part of the penance, p. 34 (VI, xv). Albert of Aachen also had Godfrey of Bouillon exhort the Crusaders to a spirit of Christian charity, RHC IV, 402 B: cf. Romans, vi, 8; John xv, 13. Cf. also letter of Gregory VII, MPL 148, 329 C.
- 50 Albert of Aachen, describing Peter the Hermit's success as a preacher of the Crusade, RHC IV, 272 A f.
- 51 P. Knoch, Studien zu Albert von Aachen, Stuttgart, 1966 (Stuttgarter Beiträge zur Geschichte und Politik, I), pp. 131 ff.
- 52 RHC IV, 482 B.
- 53 Ibid., 487 C f., cf. above, Chapter 2, note 186.
- 54 Ibid., 481 C-D. Otto of Freising's Chronicle also mentions the penitential motif usually associated with the pilgrimage (see above, pp. 235 ff.) of circling the walls on bare feet or on one's knees as a form of penance on reaching the goal of the Holy City:  
     Quam (sc. civitatem sanctam) obsidione clausam cum capere non possent, habito consilio humilitatis magistrum imitantes nudis eam pedibus circuire disponunt. (Otto of Freising, Chronik, 506, 15 f. (VII, 4)).  
 Cf. Röhricht, Geschichte des 1. Kreuzzuges, p. 189; Mayer, Geschichte, p. 66; Runciman, History, I, pp. 283 f.
- 55 Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 509 E-F.
- 56 Cf. letter III in Epistulae, ed. Hagenmeyer, p. 137, 4; also, Rousset, Les Origines, p. 57.
- 57 MPL 163, 44 A.
- 58 MPL 180, 1064 B.

- 59 Ep. 363, MPL 182, 566 A f., cf. Cramer, Palästinahefte 17-20 (1939), pp. 137 ff.
- 60 Osbernus, De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi, Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi I, ed. W. Stubbs, London, 1864 (Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi Scriptores, 38, 1), Appendix p. cxlviii.
- 61 Cf. Innocent III to the clergy of Magdeburg in 1199, MPL 214, 831 A.
- 62 MPL 216, 818 A. Cf. Matth. vii, 12.
- 63 Cf. Szklenar, Studien zum Bild des Orients, pp. 19 ff.; Müller, FS Wolfgang Mohr, pp. 266 ff.
- 64 Szklenar, Studien zum Bild des Orients, p. 22.
- 65 Cf. above, p. 243. For the following, see also Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 91 ff.
- 66 Cf. Mähl, Die Welt als Geschichte 22 (1962), p. 25.
- 67 Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 17 ff.
- 68 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 92 ff., 96 ff.
- 69 Szklenar, Studien zum Bild des Orients, p. 23.
- 70 The account of the Second Crusade is contained in the last few lines of the poem and that of subsequent campaigns in a few lines of the first Anhang to Schröder's edition.
- 71 Cf. the account of hunger, Kchr. 16651 ff., of the finding of the Holy Lance, Kchr. 16671, etc.
- 72 The vocabulary used is interesting semantically. The poet refers to the pilgrim-knights of the First Crusade with essentially heroic epithets (which is remarkable for a clerical poet referring to knightly attributes; cf. below, Chapter 4, for the adoption of secular termini into the vocabulary of Christian chivalry). In this sense, ellende undergoes a similar development to wallende and becomes a synonym for the pilgrim-Crusader (cf. p. 248, notes 75-7, below and Or. 1476, etc.). In the Anhang I to the Kaiserchronik (181 f., and 567-70), both Henry VI and Frederick II are referred to as pilgrims with the humility appropriate for pilgrim and Crusader alike.
- 73 Cf. Matth., xxi, 1 ff.; Mark, xi, 1 ff.; Luke, xix, 28 ff.; John, xii, 12 ff. Cf. also the imperial connotations of this scene in Chapter 2, p. 193 and note 256, above.
- 74 Cf. Hempel, Übermuot, pp. 146 ff.
- 75 Cf. Roth. 3687 f. H. Rückert in his edition of the poem, Leipzig, 1872, p. 184, note 3668, points out the parallel with pilgrim ideas: "wallêre ist ein fahrender Mann an sich



- ohne directe Beziehung auf eine 'Wallfahrt', hier aber allerdings als ein zu den heiligen Stätten im Orient Fahren-der, also Kreuzfahrer, die bald einzeln, bald in größeren oder kleineren Gesellschaften, bald in ganzen Heeren Konstantinopel überschwemmen." Rückert points also (p. 214, note 4275) to a common narrative picture of the crusading chronicles in Roth. 4264-7. Cf. for the use of crusading epithets for local colour in König Rother, Szklenar, Studien zum Bild des Orients, pp. 113-50; Kaplowitt, Influences and Reflections, I, pp. 50 f.
- 76 SuM 213, 1-3; 216, 1-5. Cf. also 186, 1 f.; 198, 2-5; 204, 2; 205, 2; 206, 2; 211, 5 f.; 212, 2 f.; 234, 2; 236, 3; 244, 4; 251, 2; 253, 2; 255, 2; 262, 5; 362, 3-5; 368, 2; 390-392; 611, 4; 666, 1-5; 678, 3; 683, 2; 685, 5; 686, 6; 689, 3; 690, 5; 691, 4; 696, 5; 697, 3; 720, 4.
- 77 Cf. SuM 601, 5; 606, 1; wallen may be here used in the more generic sense of "to travel", or ironically, cf. Roth. 3660 f. and note 75 above.
- 78 Cf. the picture of the pilgrim fleeing from heathen persecution, Or. 3304 f.; 3314-16.
- 79 Schröder, Spielmannsepik, pp. 48 f.
- 80 HE 5907 ff. - There is here suddenly no talk of Ernst's guilt, but of imperial grace and forgiveness (cf. HE 5925, 5931, 5938 f., 5955 - Szklenar, Studien zum Bild des Orients p. 153).
- 81 Schröder, Spielmannsepik, p. 49.
- 82 HE 1810; 1849; 1862; 1865; 5153; 5524; etc.
- 83 Cf. Heinrich von Rugge, MF 97, 13-19.
- 84 See above, pp. 237 ff.
- 85 From the Codex Gundehari, quoted in Franz, Die kirchlichen Benediktionen, II, pp. 301 f.
- 86 Cf. ibid., II, p. 304.
- 87 Quoted in ibid., II, pp. 304 ff. It is interesting that these formulae were again adopted against the Hussites in the 15th Century, cf. ibid., pp. 306 ff. For the references to St. Raphael, cf. notes 26 f. above. In the Ely Pontifical for English Crusaders, exactly the same benediction was used for blessing the pilgrim's staff as for blessing the Crusader's Cross, cf. Brundage, Traditio 22 (1966), Appendix II, pp. 305 f.
- 88 Cf. above, note 23; Mayer, Geschichte, p. 37.
- 89 Matth., xvi, 24.
- 90 RHC IV, 382 B.

- 91 Munro, AHR 11 (1906), pp. 241 f.
- 92 Cf. Ekkehard of Aura, MGH SS VI, 213, 24-6 and 35.
- 93 Ibid., 214, 38-40.
- 94 De Gestis Regum Anglorum, II, p. 396. Cf. William of Tyre, RHC I, i, 44 f.; Gesta Francorum, pp. 2 (I, i); 7 (I, iv); 31 (V, xiii); 37 (VI, xvii); etc.; Robert the Monk, RHC III, 729 F - 730 A; Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 492 F - 493 A.
- 95 Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 544 A; cf. Rousset, Les Origines, pp. 76 f.
- 96 See above, note 60.
- 97 Osbernus, De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi, p. cxlviii. Cf. Alexander III, Ep. 360, MPL 200, 384 C f.
- 98 Ep. 363, MPL 182, 567 A.
- 99 De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem, p. 16; cf. also ibid., p. 6 and Otto of Freising, Ottonis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris, 3rd ed., G. Waitz, Hanover/Leipzig, 1912 (SS rer. Germ., 40), p. 58, 9-11 (I, 37).
- 100 MPL 212, 228 B.
- 101 Kchr. 13389-13436, especially the sign of the Cross, Kchr. 13403.
- 102 Cf. Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 94 f. and Albert of Aachen, Book 7, Chapter 68 of his chronicle (RHC IV, 551 A-F).
- 103 Cf. Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 63 ff.
- 104 Cf. Labande, in New Catholic Encyclopaedia, XI, p. 370; also Or. 3715-18.
- 105 Cf. above, Chapter 2, pp. 185 f.
- 106 Ashcroft, The Exemplary Depiction of Character in Konrad's Rolandslied, pp. 157 f., 252 f.
- 107 Cf. above, Chapter 1, pp. 96 ff., 106 ff.
- 108 Cf. Wh. 31,23-32,1; 304,17-19; for Wh. 17,14, cf. also Matth. x, 1; xii, 43 ff.; Mark i, 23 ff.; Luke vi, 18 f.
- 109 Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, p. 141.
- 110 Exodus, xii, 21 ff.
- 111 Wh. 406,29-407,1: cf. Kartschoke's notes, p. 309.
- 112 Rennewart is later seen as the avenging arm of God's anger on the imperial army: Wh. 325,1-4 (see below, Chapter 6).

- 113 Cf. Friedrich von Hausen:  
 dō ich daz kriuze in gotes êre nam MF 47,18  
 For Hartmann von Aue the symbol of the Cross on his tunic  
 is a symbol of protection against all temptation to sin:  
 MF 210,19-22.
- 114 Cf. Walther von der Vogelweide, L 125,1 ff.
- 115 This is generally considered a new poem in the same form  
 as MF 209,25 ff.; only Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdich-  
tung, p. 199 and Kemper (see below) see it as a continuation  
 of this poem. For the motif of kristes bluomen, see Inge-  
 brand, Interpretationen, p. 157; K.-F. Kemper, "Zum Ver-  
 ständnis der Metapher Kristes bluomen, Hartmann von Aue  
 210,37", ZfdPh 90 (1971), Sonderheft, pp. 123-33, sees the  
 motif as part of a spiritualised view of the Crusade:  
 "Hartmann verinnerlicht den Akt der Annahme des Kreuzes,  
 das auf dem Mantel befestigt wurde. Er sieht hinter dem  
 äußeren Zeichen des Kreuzes den leidenden Christus mit sei-  
 nen Wunden. Statt zu sagen, er trage das Kreuz auf seinem  
 Gewand, sagt Hartmann - pars pro toto - unter metaphori-  
 schem Bezug auf die Wunden, er trage Christi Blumen ... Die  
 Metapher der Kristes bluomen könnte ... darauf hindeuten,  
 daß die Kreuznahme nicht bloß die Bereitschaft zum Kriegs-  
 zug bedeutet, sondern sie könnte im Sinne der nova devotio  
 sublimer Ausdruck für die Bereitschaft zum Mitleiden des  
 Kreuzfahrers mit Christus, für die compassio sein, ..." (p. 132).
- 116 Cf. HE 1851-3; 1856 f.; 1864 f. Also Wentzlaff-Eggebert,  
Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 112 ff.; Szklenar, Studien zum Bild  
des Orients, pp. 151 ff.; Kaplowitt, Influences and Re-  
flections, I, pp. 55 ff.
- 117 Cf. MOsw. 1457-61; 1595-1600.
- 118 See above, pp. 233 ff.
- 119 Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 301 ff.; 363 ff.
- 120 Mayer, Geschichte, pp. 17 ff.; 34 ff.
- 121 Rousset, Les Origines, pp. 57; 73 f.; 78 ff.; Cowdrey,  
History 55 (1970), pp. 177-88.
- 122 Ekkehard of Aura, MGH SS VI, 216,45. Cf. the spiritual  
 exultation for those arriving in sight of the Holy Sep-  
 ulchre: William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum Anglorum,  
 II, p. 398; Godfrey of Bouillon refused to aid Bohemund in  
 an attack on the Greek Empire because his vow had been to  
 attain Jerusalem: Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 309 D f.
- 123 Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 449 E. Cf. ibid., 283 C; 348 G;  
 455 F f.; 458 F f.; 462 F; 463 B f.; 469 C f.; 470 D;  
 482 B; 580 B; 631 B f.; 677 C f.; etc. Also, Knoch, Stu-  
dien zu Albert von Aachen, pp. 111 f.
- 124 Gesta Francorum, pp. 89 f. (X, xxxviii); cf. also pp. 7  
 (I, iii); 34 (VI, xv); 62 (IX, xxvi); etc. For further

evidence of Jerusalem as the goal of the First Crusade, cf. Rousset, Les Origines, pp. 57; 73 ff.; 78 ff.; Cowdrey, History 55 (1970), pp. 181 ff.

- 125 Cf. Otto of Freising, Gesta Friderici, 54, 11 f. (I, 35).
- 126 Cf. Mähl, Die Welt als Geschichte 22 (1962), pp. 24 f.
- 127 Cf. MPL 151, 554 D - 555 A.
- 128 Robert the Monk, RHC III, 728 F, and reference to Exodus, iii, 8. Cf. Ekkehard of Aura, MGH SS VI, 212, 42 f. William of Tyre saw the Holy Land as exalted by Christ's life and as God's heritage to Christianity, a heritage promised in the Bible: RHC I, i, p. 40 and Psalm xxiii, 1; xl, 12; I Corinthians x, 26; Isaiah xix, 25; etc. Cf. also Guibert of Nogent, RHC IV, 137 G - 138 A; Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio, XX, 821 E - 822 A.
- 129 Baldric of Dol, RHC IV, 14 B ff.: cf. Rousset, Les Origines, p. 62 and Psalms lxxvii, 1-3.
- 130 Albert of Aachen, RHC IV 483 C f.; cf. Letter of leaders of the First Crusade to Urban II after the fall of Antioch, MPL 151, 554 B.
- 131 Gesta Francorum, p. 54 (IX, xxii), with references to Romans, ix, 8; Galatians, iv, 5 f.; a misquotation from Romans viii, 17; and a confusion of Deuteronomy xi, 24 f., or Joshua i, 4 f. This whole passage gains more importance on the lips of Kerbogha's mother. Cf. also ibid., p. 66 (IX, xxviii) and Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 482 F - 483 A.
- 132 Cf. Ekkehard of Aura, MGH SS VI, 212, 42 f.
- 133 Letter of the leaders of the First Crusade after the fall of Antioch to Urban II, MPL 151, 552 D.
- 134 See above, note 2. Cf. Röhricht, Historisches Taschenbuch 5 (1875), p. 328 and note 18.
- 135 Osbernus, De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi, Appendix, p. cl. Cf. Constable, Traditio 9 (1953), pp. 221 ff.
- 136 Cf. Constable, Traditio 9 (1953), pp. 222 f., note 49.
- 137 MPL 158, 1169 C; cf. Cowdrey, History 55 (1970), p. 184.
- 138 Ep. 64, MPL 182, 169 C - 170 A.
- 139 Cf. Ep. 288, MPL 182, 493 C.
- 140 Cf. MPL 216, 821 A f.
- 141 Cf. MPL 212, 227 A f.
- 142 William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum Anglorum, II, pp. 394 f.; Guibert of Nogent, RHC IV, 139 H; Fulcher of Chartres, RHC III, 323 F - 324 A; William of Tyre, RHC I,

- i, 40; Robert the Monk, RHC III, 727 E - 728 A; 728 C f.; 729 A; Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 272 D; 433 A; 481 B; 592 B; Ekkehard of Aura, MGH SS VI, 213, 1-4; William of Poitiers, Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio, XX, 821 C; Rousset, Les Origines, pp. 59 ff.; etc.
- 143 Baldric of Dol, RHC IV, 12 H - 13 A; cf. ibid., 12 G f.; 13 A - F; 14 D; etc., and Rousset, Les Origines, 59 ff.
- 144 Ep. 458, MPL 182, 653 B.
- 145 Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 265, MPL 182, 463 D - 464 A.
- 146 Cf. Martin of Pairis, MPL 212, 227 B f.
- 147 See below, Chapter 6, pp. 470 ff.
- 148 Nevertheless, the association of Jerusalem with God's feudal kingdom which he allows the Crusaders as their feudal beneficium, and the ultimate association of this earthly haereditas with the heavenly heritage granted the Christian knight for military service, imbues Christian erbe-lant with feudal connotations on a higher, more spiritualised plane; cf. above, Chapter 2, pp. 177 ff. and note 199.
- 149 For other heathen references to the material inheritance of lands or titles, cf. RL 325; 418; 5233; 8473; and similarly for Genelun, RL 1387 and 1447. The Christian references to a material erbe in RL 1477; 5164; 7813; 8943; are concerned only with the inheritance from one lord to his children or from his forefathers. RL 5164 has associated religious connotations for Turpin abandons his earthly erbe in order to gain his heavenly heritage.
- 150 Cf. also RL 3415; 3914 f.; 4698; 7696. Konrad attaches similar religious connotations to erbe in RL 6881, as Roland's sword is inherited by Christ alone, and in RL 9047, as his patron Heinrich has the exemplary task of converting the heathen.
- 151 Wh. 306,2 ff. Cf. Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 162 ff.; and Chapter 6, pp. 485 ff., below.
- 152 Cf. below, Chapter 5, pp. 393 f., and note 77.
- 153 Cf. also Kchr. 8798 ff.; 9219 ff.; RL 104; 6767.
- 154 Wh. 308,6 ff. These are the same thoughts as expressed in Kchr. 9239-44. Willehalm's oath of abstention on leaving Orange can be seen in the same vein, cf. Wh. 103,23 f.; 104,1-30; 105,7-13; 112,6-9; 112,18 f.; 132,12-135,20; (especially 134,6-8); 174,20-28 - and Gyburg's asceticism in Wh. 216,1-3; 221,26. Cf. Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 107 ff.
- 155 Cf. Kchr. 11158-62; cf. also under Maximian, Kchr. 6600-3; the barbarian invasions from the East by Hungarians, Wends, etc.: Kchr. 15590-5; 15800-3; 15925-31; 16349-53; 16518-21; etc.

- 156 Cf. Kchr. 16618-20; 16760 f. Cf. also the account of the Second Crusade, Kchr. 17276 f., and also the account in Anhang I, 168 f.
- 157 HE 1925; 2120-2; 2126-8; 2434 f.; 5390 f.; 5478 f.; 5614-23; 5650; 5655; 5665 ff.; etc.
- 158 Cf. Kaplowitt, Influences and Reflections, I, p. 95: the difference in the attitude to the heathen between Graf Rudolf and the Rolandslied (p. 97) is more dependent on the imperial holy war background to Konrad's poem than on the fact that Konrad is stating the Church's view. Cf. also the crusading reality mirrored in GR y 51 - yb 5; A28-30; Eb 11-54.
- 159 Cf. Or. 278,81; and below, Chapter 4, pp. 311 ff.
- 160 Cf. Or. 2189 f.
- 161 Cf. Or. 1448 f.; 1939-32; 1968-72; 2251-4; 3472-5; 3548-59; 3673; 3894 f.; and also Ise's desire to protect the Holy Sepulchre: Or. 2315; 2324-8; 2908-13; 2972-5.
- 162 Cf. Or. 327-32; 1923-8 and Bride's sacrifice in Or. 3820-7.
- 163 Cf. above, notes 75 and 77.
- 164 Or. 3326-37; cf. the heathen threats of violence or persecution throughout the poem: Or. 415 f.; 1574-7; 1919-23; 3190-3; 3292-6; 3477-9; 3608; 3647 f. The poet dismisses parallel Christian activity in a short sentence: Or. 3794-6.
- 165 E. g. RL 7225 ff.; Wh. 450,21-5.
- 166 Cf. Or. 3348-55; 3414-21.
- 167 Cf. Walther, L 15,6-18; 16,1-7; and also Wolfram, zfdA 30 (1886), pp. 89 ff.
- 168 Cf. L 125,1 ff.
- 169 Cf. L 76,36 f.
- 170 Cf. for the historical situation, M. Villey, "L'idée de la Croisade chez les juristes du moyen âge", Relazioni del X. Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche, Tome III, Storia del medioevo (ed. G. P. Bognetti), Florence, 1955, pp. 565-94 (especially pp. 577 ff.).
- 171 E. R. Callahan, "Penance (In the Bible)", New Catholic Encyclopaedia, Vol. XI, New York, 1968, p. 72.
- 172 Schwerin, Die Aufrufe der Päpste, pp. 58 f.
- 173 Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, pp. 18 ff.; cf. above, Chapter 1, p. 78 and note 74.
- 174 Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, pp. 37 ff.; Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 109 ff.

- 175 Mayer, Geschichte, pp. 39 ff.
- 176 Cramer, Palästinahefte 17-20 (1939), pp. 128 f.
- 177 Cf. Ekkehard of Aura, MGH SS VI, 213, 18-20; William of Tyre, RHC I, i, pp. 41 f.; William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum Anglorum, II, p. 396; Baldric of Dol, RHC IV, 15 F; Fulcher of Chartres, RHC III, 324 B f. For further discussion of the accounts of Urban's speech, see Cramer, Palästinahefte 17-20 (1939), pp. 103 ff., and with special reference to the absolution pp. 127 ff. together with notes 31-5; Rousset, Les Origines, pp. 61 f.; Munro, AHR 11 (1906), pp. 231 ff.; Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, pp. 63 ff.
- 178 Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio, XX, p. 816 E.
- 179 MPL 151, 483 C f.; cf. Cramer, Palästinahefte 17-20 (1939), p. 127, note 31; Epistulae, ed. Hagenmeyer, p. 137, 3.
- 180 Riant, Archives de l'Orient latin, I, p. 220; cf. Cramer, Palästinahefte 17-20 (1939), p. 128.
- 181 Kehr, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, NF 18 (1926), pp. 287 f.; cf. Cramer, Palästinahefte 17-20 (1939), p. 128; Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 294 f. The precedent for this form of absolution is the relaxation of earthly penance for those fighting against the Saracens in Spain declared in a letter by Pope Alexander II in late 1063; cf. P. Jaffé, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, 2nd ed., Vol. I, 2, Leipzig, 1885, No. 4530.
- 182 Cf. Pope Pascal II, MPL 163, 43 C and 45 C; Calixtus II, MPL 163, 1305 C; Hugo and Gerard Munio, Historia Compostellana, Book II, Cap. LXXVII, MPL 170, 1134A f. - here penance is equated with the expedition against the heathen; St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 363, MPL 182, 566 B; Gregory VIII, MPL 202, 1540 B f.; 1541 A-C; 1542 C; Innocent III, Ep. 336, MPL 214, 311 B and 216, 817 C; etc.
- 183 Gesta Francorum, pp. 67 f. (IX, xxix).
- 184 Cf. Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 422 A; 543 F; 568 D f.
- 185 Quoted in Franz, Die kirchlichen Benediktionen, II, p. 306.
- 186 Ibid., II, pp. 275 f.
- 187 Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, pp. 91 ff.
- 188 Cf. Chapter 5, below.
- 189 For the analogy of the children killed by Herod, see Matth. ii, 16 ff. Cf. also RL 5775-8; Olivir's request for absolution from Roland for any misdeed he may have committed - RL 6478 f.; 6481 f.; 6498-6500; and the absolution of Karl's army before wreaking vengeance on Marsilie and Baligan: RL 7752-5, where the Christians are compared with the Sons of Zion (Lamentations, iv, 2). Cf. also the same motif for Karl, RL 943; Backes, Bibel und Ars Praedicandi, p. 144.

190 Cf. RL 3407 f.; 3429; 3436-9; 7748-51.

191 Cf. HE 3940-3; 3995-4001; 4084-97.

192 Cf. Wh. 49,15-22; 65,22 f.; 68,4-16; 68,18-25; 69,11; RL 6478 f.; 6481 f.; 6498-6500; Parz. 502,25 ff.

193 I intend to return in Chapter 5 to the relationship between heavenly reward and absolution, to the interrelationship between earthly combat and spiritual reward, and at this stage these few comments on the theme of the indulgence, with special reference to the parallels to pilgrimage ideology, may suffice.

194 Cf. below, Chapter 4.



## Part II: Crusading Concepts Developing with the Crusades

The appeal to the knights by Urban II at Clermont was an important stage in the Church's developing interest in the lay profession of the knighthood, but it was not the final stage in this development. This secular profession was to bear the brunt of the crusading expeditions in the Holy Land, Spain and on the Eastern borders of the Empire, and it could look back on traditions which were decidedly secular and which had developed independently of any Church influence. On the other hand the knights were to recognise in the crusading experience a means of employing their warlike craft in the service of God and of the Church in return for spiritual reward. The continuing struggle between the Papacy and the Empire did not leave a profession completely unaffected, which, in its social and political relationships, was dependent on feudal bonds and in its religious associations on the medieval clergy. The medieval knight was at this stage therefore subject to two conflicting demands: firstly, the demands of his own profession, which involved the use of arms to increase his own personal prestige and reputation, and for the protection of those who were weaker than himself or to whom he owed a particular obligation; and secondly, the demands of the Church, which called on him to use his arms in its service but required a penitent and humble spirit before the leadership of Christ in campaigns against the heathen.

The MHG literature of the later 12th and early 13th Centuries was composed by poets either closely associated with the clerical profession or with the knighthood for a predominantly knightly audience subject to these conflicting demands. And yet the subject matter of the MHG literature of this period concerns itself with the world of

Arthurian legend and the heroic epic, the demands of Minne and past climaxes in the medieval political Empire. In addition, every poet was affected to a greater or lesser degree by the problem for all medieval Christians arising from the Church's influence on everyday life: the reconciliation of achievement in this world with the rendering of good works to God, in order to guarantee salvation in the next world. The crusading experience as such plays an indirect rôle in the subject matter of the MHG literature, and, as we have seen in Part I of this study, the reflection of this experience is mostly mingled with other motifs concerning the Empire, the theme of Brautwerbung, the missionary war, etc.

The crusading material presented in MHG literature is connected historically with the three areas of the imperial holy war, the feudal social system and the institution of the pilgrimage, but the development of the crusading idea from its first explicit expression in the First Crusade means that the reflection of this idea in later MHG literature can no longer be interpreted by sole reference to these three areas. Just as the First Crusade adopted for its vocabulary and phraseology motifs from other areas of medieval life preceding this campaign, and for subsequent campaigns developed these into a vocabulary and phraseology which it could call its own, so too MHG literature reflects elements of earlier pre-crusading influence as well as of the developing crusading idea. However, the poetic expression of such motifs in crusading context seldom represents a direct reflection of the corresponding Church propaganda, but rather entails a poetic interpretation of historical reality, and is not least affected by the expectations of

the poet's audience or even of his patron. Although MHG poets may at times echo the Church's rigid attitude towards the demands made on the Crusader and his motives for taking the Cross, and may present him as a humble, penitent, self-sacrificing miles Christi, they may also include details stemming from the secular view of knighthood, so that he is simultaneously seen as a good soldier and fighter, proud of his reputation as a knight and intent on increasing his worldly honour and prestige by outstanding feats in battle or tournament. This secular representation of many motifs associated with the knight and battle may also stem partly from the poetic tradition of heroic literature in OHG and MHG, and a clear demarcation between poetic tradition and secular influence is not always possible. Similarly, the spiritual reward for military service of God against non-Christians may find a direct reflection in vernacular literature, but at the same time the medieval knight was accustomed to the material rewards of feudal benefices and booty after a victorious campaign, and the rewards of Minne were a very concrete motivation for the participation in battle by the MHG poet's chivalric heroes.

Whereas the first part of this study has analysed those areas of medieval society from which crusading propaganda inherited its phraseology, and the reflection of these epithets in the vernacular literature, the following chapters analyse the development of these epithets and the reflection of this development in MHG. A closer analysis of the concept of redemptive chivalry and the relationship of this to the ideals of knighthood in general, as well as of the Church's promises of heavenly reward for earthly toil, will allow us to state more clearly what constitutes real crusading elements in MHG poetry.

#### Chapter 4: The Concept of Redemptive Chivalry.

The Church's increasing interest in the rôle of the medieval knight had led to the act of initiation into the knighthood becoming imbued with Christian ideals and to the ceremony becoming fixed in a rite akin to other liturgical services. Bonizo of Sutri had laid down a set of commandments for the knight's conduct shortly before the First Crusade<sup>1</sup>, and the ceremonies for blessing the knight's sword included elements formerly associated with the liturgical texts for the coronation of kings<sup>2</sup>. The knight was for the first time included in the plan of Christian activity on the secular plane, and he now had specifically Christian duties of preserving the peace, of aiding and protecting widows and orphans and all the poor and oppressed, of protecting the Church and the clergy, and of fighting against heretics<sup>3</sup>. With Urban II's appeal at Clermont, the knight took on the additional obligation of fighting for his heavenly liege lord by departing on an expedition to free the Holy Land and to extend the Christian faith. At the same time the knighthood formed a heterogeneous social group at the centre of whose existence lay the principle of fighting and battle - a principle with which the Church had long attempted to come to terms, but which was fundamentally opposed to a religion based on humility, charity and love<sup>4</sup>. Although it has been shown<sup>5</sup> that the older, knightly characteristics of bravery, strength in battle, prestige and reputation, pride, etc., exhibit in terms of their theological value a trend towards becoming morally more positive characteristics in MHG, the Church was still

faced with opposition to Christian virtues when the knight valued achievement in this world in his secular profession. Crusading propaganda entails in part a continuation of the Church's efforts during the 10th and 11th Centuries to subjugate these characteristics to its control, and to divert their application to serving God, so that bravery, prowess in arms, etc., became essentially positive characteristics in the service of God, but remained theologically negative and akin to the sin of superbia when associated with personal aggrandisement<sup>6</sup>. The Church was assisted in this task by the organisation of feudal society, which, with its demands of service and loyalty, required the knight to subjugate his desires for personal achievement to service of his earthly liege lord, although by carrying out this service to the best of his ability a certain social advancement was possible<sup>7</sup>.

Urban II's appeal in 1095 was, in the words of his chroniclers, also aimed at the warlike activities of the knights, which had hitherto been directed against those people it should have been protecting - widows, orphans and the Church - or against themselves; but the knights could, by taking the Cross, put their talents in the service of God and, by protecting their fellow Christians and freeing the Holy Sepulchre, gain heavenly reward<sup>8</sup>. This fighting among themselves had been for reasons of personal ambition and pride - the one sin which led a Christian warrior to certain damnation, but which characterised the secular side to the knight's profession<sup>9</sup>:

Indebita hactenus bella gessistis; in mutuas caedes  
vesana aliquotiens tela, solius cupiditatis ac  
superbiae causa, torsistis: ex quo perpetuos interitus  
et certa damnationis exitia meruistis.

The redemptive nature of the Crusade was present in Urban's declaration, although it was associated with the pilgrimage and expiation for sins committed as secular knights before taking the Cross<sup>10</sup>. But this redemptive nature was only valid as long as the knights remained on the expedition. The successes of the First Crusade at first attracted many knights, but due to a general lack of leadership these expeditions were mostly unsuccessful and interest waned during the first decade of the 12th Century<sup>11</sup>. Nevertheless, the political successes of the Papacy over the Empire culminating in the Concordat of Worms in 1122, which not only strengthened the influence of the Papacy on the appointment of religious offices but also confirmed the secular princes in Germany as vassals of the Empire, and the papal Lehnspolitik towards secular powers<sup>12</sup>, led to a reaction in the Church associated with the Gottesfriedenbewegung characterised by a more ascetic, more spiritualised view of Christian life. The foundation of such orders as the Cistercians and Premonstratensians, the weakening of the German Emperors, and quarrels over the succession to the thrones of France and England, strengthened the Church's position and invoked a feeling that the kingdom of God was at hand<sup>13</sup>. This eschatological atmosphere was enhanced among the lay population by many supernatural signs, which were interpreted as heralding the end of the world and the advent of the Emperor of the Last Days and calling the Christian world to repentance for its sins<sup>14</sup>. The first half of the 12th Century was to represent the height of activity aimed at rebuilding old churches and building new ones, an activity regarded as a work of penance for prince,

knight and peasant alike<sup>15</sup>. The vocabulary used by the chronicles of this period is the same as that used for the Crusade: "In der Kreuzzugsbegeisterung der Baubewegung wird die 'alte Welt' des feudalständischen Frühmittelalters ein- und umgeschmolzen."<sup>16</sup> Such an attitude of penitence and the spiritualisation of the aims of Christian life led to the lay consciousness that each Christian was individually responsible for the salvation of his own soul, to attempts to ensure this salvation by the rendering of good works to Christ, and to a nova devotio in which each Christian was concerned in a spirit of humility to bring God the service and honour he deserved<sup>17</sup>.

The fall of Edessa in 1144 and the ensuing appeal by Queen Melisende to Rome was a great shock to the West<sup>18</sup>, which, after the capture of Jerusalem by the First Crusaders, the establishment of the Frankish territories in the Holy Land, and comparative successes against the Moslems in Spain<sup>19</sup>, had grown complacent about the affairs in the East. Armed reinforcements for the crusading army were slow in arriving, with the possible exception of those knights joining the Templars and the Hospitallers. Pope Eugene III's crusading bull Quantum praedecessores<sup>20</sup> and the propaganda of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, incorporating a nova devotio and emphasising the redemptive nature of the Crusade for each individual participant, were to influence and enrich the crusading propaganda for all subsequent campaigns. Bernard concerned himself in his letters and in his earlier De laude novae militiae<sup>21</sup> with the concept of redemptive chivalry, and for him the opportunity for the Christian knight to gain personal salvation by



gaining victory over evil in his own soul seems to have been almost more important than the actual success of the campaign<sup>22</sup>. In this sense, Bernard imbued the concept of militia Christi with a new spirit: in a parallel conflict to physical conflict with the heathen, the knight was simultaneously overcoming the evil within himself, thus fulfilling a true imitatio Christi in the same sense as Christ had overcome the sins of mankind in his Passion. The symbol of this conflict was the sign of the Cross on his tunic; and as this nova devotio was a religious extension of the crusading idea, not a military one, Bernard saw participation in the Crusade as open to all, and he made his appeal to a wide selection of the medieval population<sup>23</sup>, unlike later crusading appeals which restricted their propaganda to the knights.

The failure of the Second Crusade was in Bernard's view a result of man's sinfulness and an example of God's vengeance on his disobedient servants. In the same way as he had welcomed the threat to the Frankish states in the Holy Land as presenting the acceptabile tempus for repentance<sup>24</sup>, so too he saw the failure of the enterprise as divine censure because of the sins of Christendom<sup>25</sup>. All subsequent appeals by the Papacy showed the influence of Bernard's preaching, although appeals for the Third and subsequent Crusades dealt more directly with the practical necessities of a fighting class. An analysis of the concept of redemptive chivalry and of the chivalric imitatio Christi, which was to govern crusading propaganda from the Second Crusade to the Crusade of Frederick II, and which is reflected in the vernacular literature and in the struggle by its chivalric heroes to

achieve the correct balance of worldly and spiritual excellence, must commence with Eugene III and St. Bernard, who exerted a lasting influence on the figure of the Christian knight both in crusading reality and in the reflection of this figure in the vernacular literature of the next hundred years<sup>26</sup>.

2. Many of the motifs which Eugene III and St. Bernard and their followers were to adopt and expand were already present in earlier preaching and chronicling, but it was not until this later date that the full force and import of these motifs was felt. Urban II and the chroniclers of the First Crusade had emphasised Jerusalem as the Christian heritage, hallowed by Christ's life on this earth, and the Crusader's desire to imitate Christ was both a literal one, as he desired to walk the land that Christ's feet had trod, and a spiritualised one, as his struggle was paralleled by a struggle against evil in his own soul<sup>27</sup>. Their battle was in the first instance one of the spirit, not of the flesh<sup>28</sup>:

... Et reuera scias quia hoc bellum carnale non est sed spirituale.

and Bernard marked the fusion of this material and spiritual imitatio Christi. Christ's triumph over the princes of darkness and his Redemption of mankind was the foundation of all Bernard's propaganda<sup>29</sup>.

But for Bernard, this Holy Land was not only a holy place, it was God's physical heritage to mankind, of which the Christian forces were to take charge until the Last Judgement<sup>30</sup>:

... dissipentur gentes quae bella volunt, ut  
abscindantur qui nos conturbant, et disperdantur de  
civitate Domini omnes operantes iniquitatem, qui  
repositas in Jerosolymis christiani populi  
inaestimabiles divitias tollere gestiunt, sancta  
polluere, et haereditate possidere sanctuarium Dei.

Bernard also pointed to a common motif which he was to introduce to crusading propaganda: he saw the threat to the holy places in the East as a test for Christendom; God himself was powerful enough to save the Holy Land if he so desired, but he was offering the Christian knight a chance of redemption. For this reason, it was the appropriate time for the Christian knight to be repentant and, by undertaking the expedition, also to overcome the evil in his own soul<sup>31</sup>. With an appeal directly to the warlike disposition of the knight, Bernard, in a paraphrase of biblical sources, likened the Crusader to a prudens mercator who had the opportunity of making great spiritual profit for a small material investment, as long as a penitent spirit was present in the transaction<sup>32</sup>. This opportunity to gain salvation was possible by taking the crusading vow, by pinning the sign of the Cross onto the Crusader's tunic (the outward sign of his desire to imitate Christ) and by manifesting willingness to sacrifice his life in God's service, a common motif in all crusading sources<sup>33</sup>:

Ceterum predicti fratres pro Christi nomine et  
christianorum salute animas ponere nullatenus  
formidantes ...

This idea of the Crusade as an opportunity for salvation became common in later crusading sources<sup>34</sup>.

The example of Christ's sacrifice for mankind is common both to crusading sources and to vernacular literature. The Church's earlier understanding of this desire to imitate Christ's example was orientated more towards the desire

for martyrdom, especially at a time when the Church was being persecuted and when the life of a spiritual miles Christi was regarded in military terms<sup>35</sup>. In the Kaiserchronik, Peter and Paul declare their desire to imitate Christ in the sense of sacrificing their lives for their faith<sup>36</sup>:

wande der waltunde got	<u>Kchr.</u> 4197
durh uns lait den swacren töt.	
selbe truoc er sînen galgen:	
wir suln im gerne nâh volgen,	4200
zu der marter suln wir gereht sîn.	

With the Crusades, this imitatio Christi took on the essence of fighting for God in the Holy Land, symbolised in taking the Cross and trusting fully in Christ's aid, and the essence of a miles Christi changed to an active protagonist for Christ. Thus Godfrey of Bouillon encourages the First Crusaders to trust in God and to share God's purpose:

'mîn trâhtîn hât ain guoten sit,	<u>Kchr.</u> 16719
daz er die sîne niemer verlât,	16720
swer im ze der nôte gestât.	
wir suln den weg mit im tailen.'	

In Orendel, Tragemunt emphasises Christ's redemption of mankind by his Crucifixion when he recognises the grey cloak:

here do du emphinge den speres stich,	<u>Or.</u> 141
den lide du, lieber here, durch mich,	
und durch allez menschlich konne,	
wie du uns von der bitteren helle gewonne.	

Ise also rebukes Orendel's criticism of God with words similar to the crusading imitatio Christi before they set out to the Holy Land for the second time<sup>37</sup>:

'got wolte durch uns sterben	<u>Or.</u> 3364
und ouch gemartert werden,	3365
da mide erlost er frouwen und man.'	

In the same way, the Wiener Oswald has the heathen princess Spange concern herself with Christ's Passion and with his sacrifice for mankind, as the essence of the redemptive

side to the Christian faith, although there is little of the active imitatio Christi involved in this statement of faith (WQsw. 1387-1406). Such references to Christ's Passion in declarations of faith are common in MHG literature (cf. Gyburg in Wh. 309,7-30), and as the life of a medieval Christian was seen in terms of a permanent fight against evil, the connection with a spiritualised imitatio Christi in battle context is often implicit.

The crusading elements in Konrad's Rolandslied are recognised predominantly in the spiritualised nature of the battle against the heathen. The sign of the Cross is the symbol of Christ's sacrifice for man, and of the crusading knight's imitation of this sacrifice<sup>38</sup>:

'iz truc selbe unser herre.	<u>RL</u> 253
di sine uil suze lere	
hat er uns uor getragen.	255
wir sculn ime allez nach uaren,	
lernen den selbin ganc:	
trinket den kelh den er tranc,	
eret daz uil heilige cruce; ...	
ir scult gote uil wol getruwe,	270
welt ir mit gûten werken nach gen,	
so ste über uch der gotes segen.'	

Christ's example of humility on Palm Sunday is seen as Karl's ideal of the victorious king taking up his place at the head of Christendom - another example of Konrad's typological depiction of the Christian Emperor<sup>39</sup>:

selbe der ware gotes sun,	<u>RL</u> 820
fürste aller gûte,	
durch sine demûte	
ein esel er zu Iherusalem reit,	
du er di martir durch uns leit.	
einem palmen uürte er in der hant.	825

The Christians pray for sustenance from God, who in the person of the Son had redeemed all mankind, for forgiveness of all their sins and for acceptance into heaven (RL 3402-6; 5260-3; 5614-9; 7893 f.; 7923-9; etc.). Christ's sacrifice

for mankind, and the appeal to the crusading knight to imitate his example by laying down his life for others, is also at the centre of the crusading sermons in Wolfram's Willehalm. Wolfram first quotes the example of the Virgin Birth and of Christ's redemption of mankind, so that all who trust him are sure of the heavenly solt:

daz wort vil kreftecliche vart	Wh. 31,8
zer megede vuor: diust immer maget,	
diu den gebar, der unverzaget	13,10
sîn verh durch uns gap in den tût.	
swer sich vinden lât durch in in nôt,	
der emphaecht unendelösen solt:	
dem sint die singaere holt,	
der dôn sô helle erklinget.	31,15

and in Willehalm's various crusading appeals this motif is constantly emphasised (Wh. 224,14-17; 303,16-19; 23-30; 331,24-332,4; 407,2-4; etc.). In the crusading lyric, where individual poets appeal generally to their fellow knights to follow Christ's example, this motif plays the central rôle in many poems. Albrecht von Johansdorf reminds his fellow knights of Christ's martyrdom for mankind and his spirit of caritas:

nu mugen si denken daz er leit den	
grimmen tût.	MF 89,27
der grôzen marter was im ouch vil gar	
unnôt,	
wan daz in erbarmet unser val.	

Heinrich von Rugge appeals to his fellow knights to repay Christ's sacrifice by taking the Cross, thus gaining heavenly bliss:

jâ liez er wunden sich,	MF 102,18
do er unser wolde pflegen:	
der im des lônén kan,	102,20
wie saelicliche er tuot!	

and Hartmann von Aue's symbol of kristes bluomen<sup>40</sup> presents in a complex analogy the example of Christ's bleeding wounds and the Cross, which the crusading knight assumes

in direct imitation of Christ's Passion and suffering. All the pain and suffering associated with the knight's former existence and with the demands of Minne disappear before the joy experienced in pinning on the Crusader's Cross. Walther von der Vogelweide's appeal to the Crusader to heal Christ's wounds by freeing the Holy Land presents the events in the East as a second Passion of Christ:

nû heilent Kristes wunden,                    L 77,9  
sîn lant wirt schiere enbunden:                77,10

and he repeatedly refers to Christ's redemption of mankind in the Crucifixion (L 77,14 f., 26; 78,34; etc.).

In this representation of Christ's sacrifice for mankind, despite the analogy of the Passion with the ravaging in the Holy Land and the application of Christ's example to crusading propaganda, later Church historiography and vernacular literature were following homiletic practice generally and the tradition of Urban II in particular. Bernard's main contribution to crusading propaganda was his prescription of the pattern of conduct for the ideal crusading knight and the spiritualised view he propagated of redemptive chivalry. Urban II had attempted to present the Crusade as a means of salvation for the secular knight, in which the military talents formerly involved in feudal anarchy could be used in the service of God. But after the capture of Jerusalem, fervour for the campaigns had lost its original impetus. Bernard presented the crusading knight with an ideal which he could strive to attain independently of organised campaigns to the Holy Land, because he saw crusading involvement as primarily aimed at the personal salvation of the individual knight by means of repentance, although for the Templar, in whom Bernard saw the ideal

crusading knight, crusading activity was a permanent commitment.

Bernard attacked the motives of secular chivalry which he referred to as malitia not militia, thus taking up a motif which Baldric of Dol attributed to Urban<sup>41</sup>. For Bernard the life of the secular knight was characterised by his indulgence in temporal pleasures and material considerations, which brought him only eternal damnation<sup>42</sup>:

Quis igitur finis fructusve saecularis hujus, non dico militiae, sed malitiae; si et occisor letaliter peccat, et occisus aeternaliter perit? ... Quis ergo ... hic tam stupendus error, quis furor hic tam non ferendus, tantis sumptibus ac laboribus militare, stipendiis vero nullis, nisi aut mortis, aut criminis?

Bernard criticised the secular knight's occupation with luxury, with the splendid battle tunics for themselves and their horses, with their fashionably long hair and with their extravagant pastimes such as chess, dice, hunting, dancing, jousting and the like<sup>43</sup>, and he demanded of the true crusading knights that they be armati, et non ornati, a common motif in later crusading propaganda<sup>44</sup>. The redemptive nature of the Crusade inherited from the institution of the pilgrimage and the moderation demanded of the pilgrim in his attire may be recognised in this appeal for a general reticence. Bernard maintained that the motivation of pride and luxuria precipitated the knight into damnation, especially if he were to take a life or to lose his own in battle or a tournament<sup>45</sup>.

On the other hand, Bernard presented the Templars as a novum militiae genus<sup>46</sup> which was of this world but whose battles were both physical and spiritual. As soldiers of Christ they could fight in this world without any fear of what might happen in the next; to kill the heathen was not



a crime, but brought profit to Christ, and if the Christian knight were to be killed himself, then he too gained profit in heaven<sup>47</sup>:

Miles, inquam, Christi securus interimit, interit securior ... Mors ergo quam irrogat, Christi est lucrum: quam excipit, suum.

In this way, the Templar was avenging the wrongs done to Christ in his Passion and in the destruction of his heritage in the Holy Land, as well as defending Christendom and overcoming in his own soul the evil that he had committed before becoming a knight of Christ<sup>48</sup>:

Dei etenim minister est ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum. Sane cum occidit malefactorem, non homicida, sed ... malecida, et plane Christi vindex in his qui male agunt, et defensor Christianorum reputatur. Cum autem occiditur ipse, non periisse, sed pervenisse cognoscitur.

This picture of the totally involved miles Christi was not restricted to the Templars, but Bernard saw such a conversio morum as incumbent also on the lay Crusader if he were to benefit from the transcendental rewards offered: "Die Wandlung der inneren Haltung, die das Ordensgelübde von dem Templer verlangt, ist auch für den Laien die entscheidende Voraussetzung, um der Segnungen der Kreuzfahrt teilhaftig zu werden."<sup>49</sup> The Templar alone, however, was the true miles Christi who permanently fought these battles objectively against the heathen and subjectively against evil, and whereas until now the Christian knight and the monk had remained two basically different institutions, the conversio morum demanded of the new Templar gave birth to the figure of the warrior-monk in Bernard's concept of redemptive chivalry. The destruction of evil and the redemption of sins by destroying the heathen in the Holy Land, or the view of battle as psychomachia, is often and clearly

represented in Bernard's letters<sup>50</sup>.

The Christian warrior was promised an indulgence for his sins, as long as he took the Cross in a spirit of repentance<sup>51</sup>, and he was certain of both heavenly and earthly fame and honour whether he returned victorious or fell in battle<sup>52</sup>. Especially among the chroniclers of the Second Crusade, the two-fold reward of personal honour and of the soul's salvation predominated in the presentation of the motivation for taking the Cross<sup>53</sup>:

... nos nostrorum parentum gaudiamur iter, quibus  
mundi famam et caeli gloriam probitas incomparabilis  
dedit.

and Pope Alexander III allowed the Christian warrior this desire to increase his worldly reputation<sup>54</sup>:

... et multa captivorum millia confratrum nostrorum  
de ipsorum manibus eripere, studeatis ut Christiani  
nominis dignitas nostro tempore augeatur, et vestra  
fortitudo, quae per universum mundum laudatur, integra  
et illibata servetur.

Thus, although Bernard's propagation of a conversio morum demanded a penitent spirit and offered the means for the soul's salvation, and although personal motivations of pride, honour and personal aggrandisement were abhorred by him, the Church could ultimately not completely ignore an appeal to the secular side of a knight's profession in attempts to persuade him to take the Cross.

Eugene III gave the example of Mathathias to be followed by this new totally involved miles Christi<sup>55</sup>. Also, the military side to the expeditions to the Holy Land, apart from the spiritual pilgrimage<sup>56</sup>, was continually propounded by Bernard: he insisted on the need for this new, active miles Christi, rather than for the old, passive, spiritual soldier of Christ, in the crusading efforts in the Holy

Land<sup>57</sup>:

... quis non videat, plus illic milites pugnantes, quam monachos cantantes aut plorantes necessarios esse?

These new, active milites Christi were overcoming the sin of pride both in their own souls and in fighting the heathen<sup>58</sup>:

Est autem christianae pietatis, ut debellare superbos, sic et parcere subjectis; ...

Bernard clearly attempted to give Christian chivalry a mission from which not only Christendom at large would profit but from which each Christian knight could gain personal salvation, and the failure of the Second Crusade did not for him entail that this mission had completely failed. He put the blame for the failure of the temporal campaign on the sinful conduct of Western chivalry<sup>59</sup>, and he likened the weakness of purpose and lack of trust in God shown by the Crusaders to that shown by the Israelites under Moses<sup>60</sup>:

Sed populus ille, inquis, durae cervicis fuit, semper contentiose agens contra Dominum, et Moysen servum ejus. Bene, illi increduli et rebelles; hi autem quod? ... Quid poterant proficere, qui semper revertebantur, cum ambularent?

Yet in connection with his spiritualisation of the crusading idea, Bernard saw the temporal defeat of the crusading army as a spiritual victory for the individual in death<sup>61</sup>. Nevertheless, the failure of the Second Crusade caused Bernard to adapt his attitude to the heathen, and he now propounded a more missionary approach to their conversion<sup>62</sup>.

Bernard's spiritualisation of the idea of battle against the heathen, his portrayal of the warrior-monk as the new, active protagonist of Christ, his emphasis on the spiritual reward gained in death through the view of battle as psychomachia, his appeals to German chivalry and his changing attitude to the heathen were to influence the crusading

idea in several ways. Urban II had already issued the same indulgence for those knights fighting in Spain, and Bernard's influence extended the crusading idea beyond the bounds of the Holy Land<sup>63</sup>. He expanded the penitential nature of the expedition, and allied such warfare against the heathen with a transcendental battle against the sins of the Crusader in his own heart. Success was only possible for the crusading army by a humble return to Christ's path and by admission of one's sins<sup>64</sup>. Whereas support for the First Crusade by German chivalry had been slight, Bernard's preaching of the Crusade in Germany culminated in the Emperor taking the Cross, to be followed by a large number of the German knight-hood<sup>65</sup>. Eugene III had originally intended to make his appeal to the French knighthood, which had answered so enthusiastically to Urban II, and he would have preferred Conrad III to remain and protect papal interests in Rome, after the Concordat of Worms had eased the tension between Papacy and Empire. Bernard's success in Speyer in 1146 extended the crusading idea to include the Emperor as temporal leader of Christendom, and the ideology of the imperial holy war was revived in the figure of the Emperor as defensor ecclesiae involved in the dilatio imperii in a crusading context. After the Second Crusade, the Empire reasserted its rôle as head of Christendom, and this culminated in Frederick Barbarossa's leading of the Crusade of 1189 and in the crowning of Frederick II as King of Jerusalem<sup>66</sup>.

Bernard's influence on the figure of the Christian knight was reflected not only in Church propaganda, but can also be seen in the figures of the Christian knights as portrayed in vernacular literature. However, MHG poets were

subject to various other influences, apart from this spiritualised view of Christian chivalry, and we are at times confronted with both the ideal Christian warrior and a more secular picture of the knight in the same poem. The heroic tradition in MHG poetry<sup>67</sup> involved epithets associated with the life and profession of a knight which at times contradicted the ideal picture of Christian chivalry, and although in the literature of the Blütezeit heroic terms are weakened in their connotation, the tenor of these termini is rejected as sinful in strict Church doctrine.

One of the basic virtues demanded of both the active and passive miles Christi, a virtue already demanded in the ideology of the pilgrimage and also associated with Christ's example of self-sacrifice, was that of humility<sup>68</sup>, which is to be shown by Emperor and by Christian knight alike<sup>69</sup>. Konrad's introduction to his Rolandslied sets as prerequisite of humilitas the recognition of God's omnipotence and omniscience (RL 1 f.)<sup>70</sup>, and the 12 Peers live their lives in accordance with this Christian virtue (RL 70-82; 216; 225-42)<sup>71</sup>. Turpin exemplifies this virtue in Christ's redemption of all mankind on the Cross<sup>72</sup>:

des erbat in sin heilige deumût,                      RL 5796  
daz er loste wip unt man,  
do er sich an daz cruce li slahen.

In the same way, Parzival is reminded on Good Friday of Christ's humility and of the importance of this virtue for the life of a Christian knight (Parz. 446,14-448,26; 798,30). In Herzog Ernst, the Christian leader is presented as a humble knight from the outset of the poem (HE 88 f.), and the three stones in Oswald's ring are symbolic of the virtues of humility, justice and chasteness which characterise

this exemplary Christian king:

da stunden dri steine in,	<u>W</u> Osw. 172
di waren edel unde gut,	
der eine was di demut,	
der ander di gerechtikeit	175
der dritte was di kuscheit,	
di hate sinte Oswalt	
alle dri mit gewalt.	

The poet of Graf Rudolf emphasises the importance of humility in the secular life of a knight:

'dit sal er vil verre haben:	<u>GR</u> yb 21
truwe unde otmuticheit.	
da mite gewinnet er selde unde groze	
richeit.'	

and Wolfram appeals to the saintliness of Gyburg to be his witness and to intercede for his own soul in heaven:

Ei Gîburc, heilec vrouwe,	<u>Wh.</u> 403,1
dîn saelde mir die schouwe	
noch vüege, daz ich dich gesehe,	
aldâ mîn sêle ruowe jehe.	
durch dînen prîs den sîezen	403,5
wil ich noch vûrbaz grîezen	
dich selben und die dich werten,	
sô daz si wol ernerten	
ir sêle vor stiuvels banden	
mit ellenthaften handen.	403,10

- a saintliness which is based on her caritas, humilitas and constantia, the virtues of a true Christian existence<sup>73</sup>. In the same way, the reason that God's aid is granted to Willehalm is, as Wolfram is at pains to point out from the outset, due not least to his humility<sup>74</sup>.

The ideology of the holy war equated the honour shown to God and to Christendom in the person of the Emperor and gained by the defence and the expansion of the Christian Empire<sup>75</sup>, and in Konrad's Rolandslied, Wolfram's Willehalm, and the Kaiserchronik, honour of the Empire and that of Christendom are seen to be synonymous<sup>76</sup>. Similarly, the Crusader was directly concerned with protecting God's honour by his efforts to protect the Holy Sepulchre:

wir suln varn dur des rîchen gotes êre MF 87,23  
gerne ze helfe dem heiligen grabe.

This honour shown to God has the effect of expiating the Crusader's own sin, and the imitatio Christi at the same time involves destroying evil in the knight's own soul:

want siu ellu laster an in erslugen RL 5963  
unt Christes ioch uf in trûgen  
unz an ir ende, 5965  
des enphi zu siner hende  
der al waltende herre  
ir uil raine sele.

The battle is a purification process, and the heathen are an exteriorisation of the evil in the Crusader's soul.<sup>77</sup>:

so werdent abir mit blûte gerainet RL 3880  
di heren gotes marterare:  
wolt got daz ich des wert ware,  
daz ich uirdinete den namin,  
dar wolt ich gerne gan.

And yet MHG crusading literature was intended for a predominantly knightly public. For this reason, knightly virtues are extolled alongside the emphasis laid on humility and on the honour of God, of Christianity in general and of the Christian Empire in particular<sup>78</sup>. In an imperial context the retention of earthly honour and personal reputation had always been part of the exemplary depiction of the Emperor (Kchr. 5679-82; 14365-7; 15155-9; etc.). As the knight had gradually taken over many of the obligations of the Emperor by initiation into the code of chivalry, he was also portrayed as gaining worldly honour in association with the heavenly reward he prepared for himself by defeating the heathen. The Kaiserchronik portrays Godfrey of Bouillon in such a light in the account of the First Crusade:

wâ fraisctet ir ê oder sît Kchr. 16781  
ie dehain man sô spaehen,  
den der ie sô wol gescaeh

ze allen werltlichen êren?

Kchr. 16784

diu sêle ist hailig unt raine.

16789

The Regensburg poet clearly differentiates between the relative importance of ruom and êre in his exemplary depiction of the knight Colatinus<sup>79</sup>:

swar si riten ûf diu lant,  
dâ diene in ie der helt palt,  
unz er mit sinem swerte  
alsô grôzen ruom beherte,  
daz si den ellenthaften man  
ze grôzen êren wolten hân,  
und daz in die snellen  
erwelten in selben ze gesellen.

Kchr. 4319  
4320

4325

where the individual and personal values of the knight are more important than the mere spreading of one's reputation. But the roots of ruom and êre are found not in a subjugation of these personal values to Church doctrine but in the knight's military profession and in bravery and excellence in arms: "Trotz aller Beteuerungen der geistlichen Dichter, wie gnädig, gerecht und demütig ihre Helden seien, legen die Darstellungen ... ein Hauptgewicht an Sorgfalt gerade auf deren männliche, kriegerische Taten und zeigen damit deutlich, wo das Interesse des Publikums lag und was am Helden geschätzt wurde."<sup>80</sup> On the other hand, the poet of the Kaiserchronik also presents the more monk-like miles Christi Clemens as more interested in the soul's salvation than in worldly honour<sup>81</sup>:

er sorget allez umbe die sêle,  
mêre den umbe werltlich êre.

Kchr. 1912

In the Rolandslied, Karl's personal honour is also increased by the carrying out of God's mission to subdue the heathen (RL 18-20; etc.), but the individual Christian knights also pray to God not only for victory but for the increase of their own personal reputation:



si bitent ir herren Christ,	RL 7973
da ir trost aller an ist,	
daz er dich hiute uelle	7975
unt alle dine helde,	
unt er gebe in sige unt rûm.	

Turpin's reply to heathen boasting, while portraying the spirit of no quarter in which the battle is fought, also presents the motives of honour and reputation implicitly associated with both the Christian and heathen forces:

ir rumet uch des siges zefrû:	RL 5312
swer genozen hinne uare,	
der habe di ere gare;	
swer morgen lebe ze dirre zît,	5315
der habe di marche ane strit.	

As we have seen, the terms used to refer to the exemplary conduct of the imperial knights are of a similar nature<sup>82</sup>.

In Wolfram's Willehalm, the motive of increasing personal honour is listed as one of the reasons for Pfalzgraf Bertram's participation in the battle against the heathen:

seht, ob in des mande	Wh. 42,2
Munschoie diu krîe:	
oder twancs in âmie?	
oder müete in Vivianzes nôt?	42,5
oder ob sîn manheit gebôt,	
daz er dâ prîs hât bejaget?	

These motives are to return throughout the poem: allegiance to the Empire, the demands of Minne, the spirit of caritas, revenge for deeds done by the heathen to other Christian knights, and the demands of the knightly profession. All the warriors in the first battle are characterised by personal honour and reputation (Wh. 15,7-11; 40,28-30; 50,24 f.), and the gathering of the imperial army at Orleans is motivated by feudal allegiance and by the desire to excel themselves in battle:

etslîche kômen durch ir prîs,	Wh. 209,14
etslîche hetens vor gesworn,	209,15
durch daz ir reht niht waere verlor.	

Even in the second battle, when the main motivation for

fighting is extended to include the conflict between the heathen and Christian claim to world domination, the main desire for some Christian knights is to increase their own personal reputation:

nû endorfte der kûnec von Tandarnas	Wh. 401,14
und der pôver schêtis	401,15
niht vûr gâhen durch ir prîs:	
swen ie sîn herze in strît getruoc,	
der vûnde dâ strîtes noch genuoc.	

and Willehalm himself as Reichsvertreter for Louis and protector of the Emperor's honour (Wh. 183,8-10; 211,1-6), can also be motivated by personal ambition<sup>83</sup>:

... durch den markîs.	Wh. 310,19
der bejaget hât sô manegen prîs,	310,20
ei Willehalm, rehter punjûr,	

The imperial army withdraws from the battle field for material reasons which Willehalm maintains are not reconcilable with the knightly desire to increase one's own reputation or to gain the rewards of Minne<sup>84</sup>:

... waz denne,	Wh. 322,20
sint uns die hârslihtaere entriten?	
sint diu wîp dâ heime in rehten siten,	
si teilent in drum solhen haz,	
daz in stüende hie belîben baz.	

Even Gahmuret, who in Parzival is portrayed in the manner of the knights of the Spialmanusdichtung, is a Minne-ritter and a Ruhmritter concerned with the personal attributes of the knight<sup>85</sup>:

aldâ wart von Gahmurete	Parz. 78,17
geleistet Ampflîsen bete,	
daz er ir ritter waere:	
ein brief sagt im daz maere.	78,20
âvoy nu wart er lâzen an.	
op minne und ellen in des man?	
grôz liebe und starkiu triuwe	
sîne kraft im frumt al niuwe.	

In Salman und Morolf, Salman's victory over the heathen Îsolt brings him personal honour (SUM 573,4 f.), and the poet of Graf Rudolf presents the increasing of a knight's personal

honour, the honour due to God and heavenly reward as the motivation for the Christian warriors in the poem (GR Bb 26-9). Rudolf also demands of the Christian monarch of Jerusalem that he should concern himself with êre without the exaggeration of superbia:

er wiste wol daz er solde	<u>GR</u> y 15
werben nach den eren:	
daz konde in wol geleren	
der greve da von Arraz,	
die aller tugende meister was.	

Hartmann von Aue also does not reject the worldly values of a knight, but he sees them sublimated by the soul's salvation<sup>86</sup>:

wan swem daz ist beschert	<u>MF</u> 210,7
daz er dâ wol gevert,	
daz gildet beidiu teil,	
der werlte lop, der sêle heil.	210,10

The heathen view of Christian motives emphasises the rôle played by personal reputation in battle. The flattering account of the deeds done by Marsilie's son shows that he had encountered a more experienced and well-known bearer of arms in the person of Roland (RL 5652-4), and the heathen forces in Willehalm see the Christian leader as motivated by prestige (Wh. 335,10-12; 336,7-12). The heathen are themselves motivated by the desire to increase their own personal honour. Baligan, while desiring to protect the material boundaries of his earthly empire, also calls on his heathen followers to preserve his reputation:

'unt helfet mir williclichen,	<u>RL</u> 7215
daz ich beschirme mine rîche	
nach mines namin ere!'	

and in the Münchener Oswald, the heathen defeat brings disgrace upon their forces (MOsw. 2917-20). Of all the heathen warriors in Willehalm, especially Rennewart is motivated by

the desire to increase his reputation and gain honour as a knight on the side of the Christian forces<sup>87</sup>.

In the same way as the demands for humility characteristic of crusading propaganda are reflected in MHG crusading literature by the juxtaposition of ideal Christian knightly characteristics and the more secular demands of personal honour and prestige, so too demands for a spirit of Entsagung and for the new type of miles Christi are reflected in a representation of both an orthodox Church standpoint and an unorthodox secular position. The historiography of the First Crusade had already contained the motive that Western knights left behind the joys of the homeland and suffered material discomfort in Christ's name<sup>88</sup>, but for Bernard of Clairvaux the soldier of Christ was to take an oath of poverty and renounce all temporal pleasures in the same spirit of asceticism as the Benedictine monk<sup>89</sup>. Rejection of the temptations of this world in return for the joys and rewards to be expected in the next is a central theme in Church doctrine and biblical exegesis, but it gained a specific application in the preparations for a crusading campaign. In the Kaiserchronik, the imperial army under Karl leave behind all their possessions when assembling to avenge the blinding of Pope Leo (Kchr. 14559 f.), and Laurentius renounces earthly riches in return for heavenly reward:

'du nemaht scazzes von mir niht hân.                    Kchr. 6290  
ih hân in gegeben  
umbe daz ewige leben, ...

The spiritual life of the clergy also demands rejection of all earthly treasures in return for heavenly reward (Kchr. 6111-14; 12785 f.). The final synthesis of imperial

characteristics (already adopted by the knight) and of the monk-like characteristics of a spirit of Entsagung takes place in the crusading knight, and Godfrey of Bouillon renounces all his worldly goods to go on the Crusade:

er verliez alle sine habe  
dem wâren gote zêren. Kchr. 16621

The Rolandslied presents a direct parallel to the ascetic life of the Templar when Turpin demands a common and simple food for the crusading knight<sup>90</sup>:

uwer spise si gemeine,  
daz herze machet reine.  
ze ware sagen ich iz iu:  
der brode lichename ist diu deû,  
di sele ist diu frûwe. RL 265

Turpin, as a member of the clergy and as a militant soldier of Christ, is typical of this spirit of renunciation:

er uerliez alle werlt wunne,  
paidiu erbe unt chunne. RL 5163

and Konrad constantly refers to a unity of spirit among the Christian army (RL. 3257 f.; 3445; 3942-7; 4519-23; 4872; etc.). Olivir rejects the temptation of heathen bribes by maintaining that all his earthly possessions are his as long as God wills it, and he is clearly willing to renounce them in God's name:

'ich han ouch liute unt lant  
also lange so got wil.' RL 4246

At two stages in the poem earthly riches are forcefully rejected as too transient in face of the promised heavenly reward: Karl cannot be distracted by any imaginary heathen bribery:

eruulte er dizze gebirge  
uon rotem golde,  
ich ne weiz waz iz mir solde  
uure den ewigin lib. RL 1004  
1005

and Roland encourages the Christian forces to leave the heathen booty as worthless in face of heavenly reward<sup>91</sup>:

'durch den ewigen got:	RL 4197
lat iu ditze golt rot	
wesen ummare	
wider uwerem schephare,	4200
ditze scone gestaine:	
ia ist iz unraine;	
lat iz durch den waren gotes sun -	
iz nemac uns zegote nicht gefrumen,	
want iz uns zenichte entouc -	4205

The spirit of renunciation extends to the wish for martyrdom and sacrifice of the body for the soul's salvation - a direct imitation of Christ's sacrifice for mankind<sup>92</sup>:

nu scul wir froliche	RL 190
im ophferen den lib.	
er ist ime gereit in alle zit	
daz er unsich entphahe.	

In Willehalm, the Emperor Louis maintains that Willehalm is too old and wise to wear the costly battle armour associated with the younger Ruhmritter or Minneritter:

'dar zuo dunket ir mich zalt,	Wh. 203,14
daz iu ûf tötbaeren strit	203,15
iower muot die volge gît,	
daz ir iuch zimiert alsô.'	

- a more practical than religious explanation; nevertheless, the spirit of renunciation is also present in the poem: Willehalm rejects heathen booty and riches as worthless in face of heavenly reward<sup>93</sup>:

al teude ich drunder kom geriten,	Wh. 464,14
niht durch nemens vâre.	464,15

In Herzog Ernst, Ernst rejects all but the most necessary looting as a temptation by God:

'da wir vinden unde mugen nemen.	HE 2407
swaz uns spîse mac gezemen,	
die mugen wir âne sünde hân.	
daz ander sult ir ligen lân.	2410
got wil uns lîhte versuoehen.	
nu sult ir niht enruochen	
ir goldes noch ir zierheit.	
dise pheller alsô breit	
lât iu gar unmaere sîn.	2415

In Orendel, there is little reference to costly armour and material splendour in the Christian army, whereas the

heathen Mentwin is described in great detail (Or. 1212 ff.). Orendel even covers his gold breast-plate with the Grey Cloak:

eine brunige was mit golde durchslagen, Or. 1605  
sie hatte vil der wunne,  
sie luhte als die sunne.  
do leite er an zware  
sinen guden roc grawe.

In Salman und Morolf, the theme of renunciation is contained in Morolf's speech to the Christian army before rescuing Salman:

also Mōrolf z<sup>o</sup> in rief, SuM 486,3  
'gedenkent nit an ūwer schōne wip  
noch an ūwer kint dā heim, 486,5  
daz icht blōde werde der strit.'

and in the Oswald legend, the Christian king's milte is seen in terms of his willingness to sacrifice all he owns to those asking such a sacrifice of him in God's name (MOsw. 2791-2800). For Wolfram, the sacrifice of suffering poverty and hardship for the sake of triuwe is a Christian virtue not restricted to the knighthood<sup>94</sup>:

genuoge sprechent, armuot, Parz. 116,15  
daz diu sī ze nihte guot.  
swer die durch triwe līdet,  
hellefiwer die sēle mīdet.

In the crusading lyric, this reflection of the spirit of renunciation has its own particular character; the poets present knights faced with the choice between love for their lady and love for God - a choice in which the renunciation of earthly pleasures and rewards plays a very important part. The situation is similar in most poems: the knight has to say farewell to his vrouwe after taking the Cross or after hearing a call to the Crusade, and each poet presents his own interpretation of how to come to terms with this intrusion into his feudal-social world-order<sup>95</sup>; "Die

Kreuzlieder werden aber ausgelöst durch den Einbruch der Wirklichkeit, der meist als Kreuznahme oder Kreuzzugsaufruf stilisiert erscheint, in eine fest gefügte Lebensordnung (Ritter - Minne - höfische Gesellschaft)."<sup>96</sup> Friedrich von Hausen leaves all his friends, possessions and in particular his lady to the protection of God, in the tradition of the First Crusade:

wan mir daz scheiden nâhe gât,	<u>MF</u> 48,7
deich tet von lieben friunden mîn.	
swiez doch dar umbe mir ergât,	
got hêrre, ûf die genâde dîn	48,10
sô wil ich dir bevelhen die	
die ich durch dînen wille lie.	

And yet, in a different poem, he finds himself unable to renounce completely his love for his lady. He relinquishes the struggle for her favour, but is sure that God will allow him to think of her at times:

Mîn herze unsanfte sînen strît	<u>MF</u> 46,9
lât, den ez nu mange zît	46,10
haldet wider daz aller beste wîp,	
der ie mîn lîp	
muoz dîenen swar ich iemer var.	
ich bin ir holt: swenn ich vor gote getar,	
so gedenke ich ir.	46,15
daz ruoche er vegeben mir:	
ob ich des grôze sünde solde hân,	
zwiu schuof er si sô rehte wol getân?	

He rejects the vrouwe who has rewarded his service with nothing but unmilte (MF 46,29-37; cf. 46,19-25; 46,39-47,1), and turns to a stronger devotion for God who alone can help him in his desperation:

nu wil ich mich an got gehaben:	<u>MF</u> 46,26
der kan den liuten helfen ûzer nôt.	
nieman weiz wie nâhe im ist der tôt.	

He had been misled by the joys of this world, and he expresses his regret and desire to return to God's service:

doch klage ich daz	<u>MF</u> 47,5
daz ich sô lange gotes vergaz:	
den wil ich iemer vor in allen haben,	
und in dâ nâch ein holdez herze tragen.	



In his best-known crusading poem, Min herze und min lîp diu wellent scheiden (MF 47,9 ff.)<sup>97</sup>, this problem of Frauenminne and Gottesminne is represented as a personification of his heart and his body; the former is engaged in the service of his lady while the latter desires to depart in the service of God and fulfil knightly deeds against the heathen<sup>98</sup>. His struggle to renounce the ties of earthly love can be solved by God alone:

got eine müeze scheiden noch den strîf. MF 47,16

For Albrecht von Johansdorf the conflict between love for his lady and love for God is intensified by the poet's exclusive love for only one lady in his lifetime<sup>99</sup>. With the possible exception of MF 89,21, Die hinnen varn, die sagen durch got<sup>100</sup>, the problem of earthly love for his lady being irreconcilable with heavenly love and his duty to his spiritual liege lord is solved by Johansdorf's belief in the validity of both these loves, and in the possibility of them existing side by side. "Wie aber erfüllt er den Anspruch, den die Frau an ihn stellt? Indem er ihrem Entweder-Oder - sie glaubt, daß er nur die Bindung an Gott oder die Bindung an sie tathaft verwirklichen könne - sein Sowohl-Als-Auch entgegensetzt."<sup>101</sup> Nevertheless, Johansdorf recognises the necessity of a spirit of physical Verzicht of his earthly love for the time of his fulfilling the crusading vow:

Lâ mich, Minne, vrî. MF 94,25  
du solt mich eine wîle sunder liebe lân.  
du hâst mir gar den sin benomen.  
komest du wider bî  
als ich die reinen gotes vart volendet hân,  
sô wis mir aber willekomen. 94,30

and he leaves his lady to the protection of God in the hope that she will feel the same for him on his return, otherwise he would rather die in the Holy Land<sup>102</sup>:

nu helfe er mir, ob ich her wider kome, MF 86,27  
 ein wîp diu grôzen kumber von mir hât,  
 daz ich si vinde an ir êren: 87,1  
 sô wert er mich der bete gar.  
 sül aber si ir leben verkêren,  
 sô gebe got, daz ich vervar.

The lady cannot understand how he can be faithful to his crusading vow and to her at the same time (MF 87,13-17, 33-8; 94,35-95,5). Johansdorf's answer is that he takes his love for his lady overseas with him in his heart while fulfilling the crusading vow<sup>103</sup>:

wilt ab du ûz mînem herzen scheiden niht MF 94,31  
 (daz vil lîhte unwendic doch geschiht),  
 vûer ich dich dan mit mir in gotes lant,  
 sô sî der guoten hie er umbe halben lôn  
 gemant.

Only in the one case does he feel tempted to stay, and by so doing risks falling from God's grace whether he has taken the Cross or not; he is left without his hôher muot and begs God not to regard the love he has for his lady as a sin:

Mich habent die sorge ûf daz brâht MF 90,5  
 daz ich vil gerne kranken muot von mir  
 vertribe.  
 des was mîn herze her niht frî.  
 ich gedenke mange naht  
 'waz sol ich wider got nu tuon, ob ich  
 belîbe,  
 daz er mir genaedic sî?' 90,10  
 sô weiz ich niht vil grôze schulde die  
 ich habe,  
 niuwan eine, der enkume ich niemer abe;  
 alle sünde lieze ich wol wan die:  
 ich minne ein wîp vor al der werlte in  
 mînem muote.  
 got herre, daz vervâch ze guote. 90,15

The poem has an open ending, and the possibility of the return of his hôher muot, of the reconciliation of earthly love with love of God, of not having to renounce completely his earthly love for his vrouwe, remains at least feasible<sup>104</sup>. Johansdorf's answer to the demands for a spirit of renunciation required of the Christian knight is thus one

of compromise; the love he shows for his vrouwe is by no means relegated to second place in his system of values but exists in equal validity alongside love for God and devotion to his purpose, and Johansdorf asks for God's grace for both himself and his lady<sup>105</sup>. In this respect, Johansdorf stands alone in MHG crusading literature, although Hartmann von Aue's relationship to his hërre shows similar characteristics.

For Hartmann, the renunciation of earthly values and the conversio morum necessary for the soul's salvation were instigated by the death of his liege lord and by the rejection by his lady: "Die Erschütterung der irdischen Seinsordnung, die Lösung der freudig anerkannten irdischen Bindungen schafft Raum für eine neue innere Haltung, die in der Teilnahme am Kreuzzug Ausdruck findet."<sup>106</sup> Worldly pleasures for Hartmann are purely temporal and transient, and despite the fact that at one stage in his life he was engaged in their pursuit (MF 210,11-18)<sup>107</sup>, his whole being is now concerned with a love transcending earthly considerations and characterised by a rejection of all ties in any way associated with temporal matters:

Mich hât diu werlt alsô gewent	MF 211,8
daz mir der muot	
sich zeiner mâze nâch ir sent:	211,10
dêst mir nû guot.	
got hât vil wöl ze mir getân,	
als ez nû stât,	
daz ich der sorgen bin erlân,	
die manger hât	211,15
gebunden an den fuoz,	
daz er belîben muoz	
swenn ich in Kristes schar	
mit fröiden wünneclîchen var.	

He is finally set free from the earthly joy which might have attracted him earlier and have restrained him from fulfilling his vow if the death of his liege lord had not

effected the conversio morum necessary for the true protagonist of Christ<sup>108</sup>:

und lebt mîn herre, Salatîn und al  
sîn her MF 218,19  
dienbraehten mich von Vranken niemer  
einen fuoz. 218,20

Hartmann prays to God to aid him in the rejection of all earthly considerations associated with the Devil, and to turn his thoughts towards the spiritual rewards for participation in the Crusade, the symbol of which is the sign of the Cross on his tunic (MF 210,19-22). Hartmann attempts to convince his fellow Minnesänger of the wân of earthly love when faced with the spiritually uplifting Gottesminne which he now experiences<sup>109</sup>:

ir minnesinger, iu muoz ofte  
misselingen: MF 218,21  
daz iu den schaden tuot daz ist der wân.  
ich wil mich rüemen, ich mac wol von  
minne singen,  
sît mich diu minne hât und ich sî hân.  
daz ich dâ wil, seht daz wil also gerne  
haben mich: 218,25  
sô müezt ab ir verliesen under wîlen  
wânes vil:  
ir ringent umbe liep daz iuwer niht enwil:  
wan mûgt ir armen minnen solhe minne als ich?

The poet can thus leave behind all his relations and feudal ties with no difficulty, because of his trust in spiritual reward (MF 218,5-8). At the same time, Hartmann is convinced of the appropriateness of such a decision for his knightly audience: God offers not only spiritual reward but also a chance to increase one's personal reputation in this world by swearing allegiance to him as heavenly liege lord<sup>110</sup>:

swes schilt ie was zer werlt bereit MF 210,3  
ûf hôhen prîs,  
ob er den gote nû verseit, 120,5  
der ist niht wîs.  
wan swem daz ist beschert  
daz er dâ wol gevert,  
daz gîltet beidiu teil,  
der werlte lop, der sêle heil. 210,10

For Heinrich von Rugge, also, the only sure road to the gaudium sempiternum is the renunciation of all earthly desires<sup>111</sup>:

Ob ich verbir die bloeden gir	MF 97,2
die noch mîn herze treit,	
sô wirt mir hin zen fröuden gâch,	97,5
dâ von man wunder seit.	

Because no-one can be sure of when death may overtake him, especially when taking the Cross, all concern with earthly considerations is merely vanitas:

Vil maneger nâch der werlte strebet,	MF 99,13
dem si mit boesem ende gebet,	
und nieman weiz wie lange er lebet:	99,15
daz ist ein michel nôt.	

Rugge criticises the preoccupation of the knightly classes with worldly quot which is to no avail when faced with death (MF 102,21-5), and renunciation of the whole personality of the Crusader in conscious imitation of Christ's sacrifice for mankind leads to the reward in the next world<sup>112</sup>:

Des lîbes habe ich mich	MF 102,14
dur got vil gar bewegen,	102,15
ez waere ein tumber wân,	
dûht ich mich des ze quot.	

For Hartmann von Aue and Heinrich von Rugge the conflict between Gottesminne and Frauenminne is decided in favour of renunciation of earthly considerations, but for Reinmar von Hagenau the problem presented by this conflict is concentrated in his gedanke<sup>113</sup>. The poet recognises the necessity of purifying his thoughts, but they insist on going their own way to the joys of earthly love, as is the predicament of many of his colleagues<sup>114</sup>:

dô wande ich si ze gote alsô bestaeten	MF 181,17
dazs iemer fuoz ûz sîme dienste mêr	
getraeten:	
nu wellents aber ir willen hân	
und ledeclîche varn als ê.	181,20

diu sorge diust mîn eines niht:  
si tuot ouch mære liuten wê.

MF 181,21

His thoughts return to the joys of earthly love, to diu alten maere with which he had occupied himself before taking the Cross (MF 181,23-30). The Crusader's conflict between his earthly thoughts and the purification necessary for the correct frame of mind as pilgrim and soldier of God cannot be resolved by human will alone. His thoughts continually go their own way despite the Crusader's efforts, which the poet recognises as sinful in itself. He knows that both his body and his gedanke should be unified in the service of God, but he is afraid of the betrogenheit of his thoughts:

Gedanken wil ich niemer gar  
verbieten (dês ir eigen lant)  
in erloube in eteswenne dar  
und aber wider sâ zehant.

MF 181,33

181,35

sôs unser beider friunde dort gegrûezen,  
sô kêren dan und helfen mir die sünde bûezen,  
und sî in allez daz vergeben  
swaz si mir haben her getân.  
doch fürhte ich ir betrogenheit,  
daz si mich dicke noch bestân.

182,1

"In dieser Strophe wird die Unmöglichkeit, irdisches und überirdisches Ziel aus menschlicher Kraft zu vereinen, vom Ich schmerzlich erahnt."<sup>115</sup> The solution to this dichotomy is only possible in an irrational act of vergezen - the more the memory of earthly joy recedes, the more the poet's hopes for heavenly joy may increase in his selfless service of God<sup>116</sup>. The conflict is then resolved, as his whole persona now concentrates on the aim of the soul's salvation.

Walther von der Vogelweide, unlike the remainder of the crusading lyric poets of the MHG Blütezeit, is more concerned with the political realities of the crusading scene<sup>117</sup> and with the perfection of the Christian knight by

involvement in the Crusade. His appeals to the knights to reject the considerations of this world are seen in terms of the debilitating effects caused by an exaggerated concern with decadent courtly society: Christian knighthood has fallen between two stools by forgetting its duty as true courtly knights to reconcile material success with a true relationship to God, and as crusading knights by no longer aiming at the perfection of knightly conduct found in serving God and striving after heavenly reward:

Owê wir müezegen liute, wie sîn wir	
versezzen	L 13,19
zwischen fröiden an die jâmerlîchen	
stat!	13,20
aller arebeite heten wir vergezzen,	
dô uns der sumer sîn gesinde wesen bat.	
der brâhte uns varnde bluomen unde blat:	
dô trouc uns der kurze vogelsanc.	
wol im der ie nâch staeten fröiden ranc!	13,25

Walther's Elegie (L 124,1 ff.), despite its appeal to the knights to become the embodiment of ideal Christian knighthood by taking the Cross, is an indictment of the collapse of courtly values and of imperial values inherent in Frederick II's excommunication<sup>118</sup>. The knights have turned away from God and are concentrating on earthly pleasure which can only lead to loss of heavenly reward:

swer dirre wünne volget, hât jene	
dort verlorn,	L 124,33
...	
Owê wie uns mit süezen dîngen ist	
vergeben!	124,35
ich sihe die gallen mitten in dem	
honege sweben:	
diu Welt ist ûzen schoene, wîz grûen	
unde rôt,	
und innân swarzer varwe, vinster sam	
der tôt.	
swen si nû habe verleitet, der schouwe	
sînen trôst:	

These worldly pleasures must be rejected by a return to those values by which knighthood had always stood - the

warlike warrior virtues - which are to be placed at God's service in the only opportunity for them to be rescued from the seductions of this world - in an expedition to free the Holy Land<sup>119</sup>. The nova devotio can overcome worldliness in the Crusader:

Vil sūeze waere minne,  
berihthe kranke sinne.

L 76,22

In direct relationship to this conflict between love for his lady and the correct spirit of renunciation, Friedrich von Hausen calls upon the vrouwen of medieval society to reject those cowards who betray their crusading vows as unworthy and having lost their honour in the face of God:

Ich gunde es guoten frouwen niet  
daz iemer mēre quaeme der tac  
dazs ir deheinen heten liep  
der gotes verte alsô erschrac.  
wie kunde in der gedienen iet?  
wan ez waere ir êren slac!

MF 48,13

48,15

48,18

48,17

48,16

A Christian knight loses the worldly honour of his profession and the heavenly reward from God by abandoning his crusading vow or by refusing to take the Cross<sup>120</sup>. Heinrich von Rugge maintains that it would be better for such a knight not to have been born (MF 98,38-99,3), for he cannot participate in the expiatory nature of the Crusade at the centre of the crusading idea:

Den riuwet, sô der schade ergât,  
daz im der grôzen missetât  
nieman necheinen wandel hât:  
ze spâte ist ers behuot.

MF 99,25

MHG crusading literature presents this motif of renunciation as incumbent on the knight when called upon to fight for God's cause, and the rewards of this world as transient and worthless, but this picture of the exemplary Christian knight is at times modified by the poets' delight in depicting costly armour and the material splendour



associated with the miles saecularis, which Church doctrine so strongly criticised<sup>121</sup>. In Konrad's Rolandslied the descriptions of costly armour are for the most part restricted to the heathen (RL 4373 ff.; 4592 ff.; 4879 ff., etc.), and the few descriptions of splendour in the Christian army are in no sense of the same quality<sup>122</sup>:

wer laitet dise scâr?	<u>RL</u> 4771
si ist herlichen wol gar,	
si gezame wol aine richen man:	
iwer schilte sint lussam,	
di helme also wolchen liecht.	4775

The description of Roland's armour does not consist of glorying in description for its own sake, as often found in the courtly romance; the emphasis is rather on the physical protection this armour gives the Christian knight (RL 3279 ff.; 4558 f.; etc.), after his soul has been protected by the appropriate religious preparations for battle. The renunciation of all thoughts of home is contained in the Christian army in a steadfastness of purpose arising from a desire to avenge the heathen attack on Roland and his followers:

si waren harte ergetzet	<u>RL</u> 6151
ir frolichen haim uerte:	
ir herce wurden so herte	
daz der groze sin uon in floh.	

Konrad's depiction of Karl's court (RL 641-673) is of a splendour difficult to reconcile with crusading asceticism, but Konrad uses OT imagery to enhance the typological figure of Karl, his splendour and power as vicarius Dei. This typological depiction, as well as the epic tradition of such a presentation of a powerful monarch (RL 672 f.), imbue the scene with a different atmosphere from one of mere secular splendour<sup>123</sup>. The presentation of Christian material splendour in Willehalm is also associated with the subsidiary

motivation which Wolfram allows to be valid for the battles against the heathen. Willehalm is introduced as an exemplary Christian knight and his armour is described at the outset in terms of its functionalism:

des helm was ze Tôtel	Wh. 37,8
geworht, herte unde wert.	
Schoiûse hiez sîn swert	37,10
und sîn ors hiez Puzzât,	
dâ manec ritterlîchiu tât	
ûfe wart begangen.	

The first battle has as primary motivation the personal Minnestreit between Willehalm and Tybalt<sup>124</sup>, and although other motives are introduced to develop the conflict finally into one between Christendom and the heathen empire, the principle that knights on both sides are Minneritter is maintained throughout the poem. Willehalm's material splendour stems from the heathen armour he has taken from Arofel, king of Persia and epitome of the heathen Minneritter (Wh. 203,19 ff.), and Willehalm's outward splendour conflicts with the oath of asceticism he maintains until he returns to Gyburg with aid<sup>125</sup>. Vivianz is also portrayed as the Christian Minneritter par excellence, who in love and devotion to Gyburg had received many costly presents of knightly equipment<sup>126</sup>:

der markîs die borten	Wh. 60,4
erkande, als er gerîemet was,	60,5
smârâde und adamas,	
rubîne und krisolde	
drûf verwieret, als si wolde,	
Gîburg diu wîse.	
diu mit kostlîchem prîse	60,10
sande den jungen Vîvîanz	
ûf daz velt Alischanz,	

With the introduction of the imperial element to the battle, the conflict is between Christendom and the heathen empire, and Willehalm as the representative of the Emperor is the most powerful knight at Orange. Thus the castle is

decorated according to his position and the Christian army is portrayed in its true splendour (Wh. 244,15; 313,1-26; 406,6-19). In battle, this motif is retained when some of the Christian warriors are seen as Minneritter (Wh. 314,30-315,6). After the honour of the imperial forces is saved by Rennewart, the external splendour of these warriors can be rightly extolled (Wh. 329,28-330,25). Wolfram's presentation of the material splendour of the Christian forces is thus part of the conflict between Christendom and the heathen empire, and is not seen as a negative aspect in the Christian warrior's efforts to imitate Christ.

Despite the expiatory nature of Ernst's expedition to the Holy Land in Herzog Ernst, there is no real spirit of self-denial or asceticism in the poem; on the contrary, Ernst is laden with costly presents which he shares with his followers:

sîn muoter diu künigin sande im dô	<u>HE</u> 1894
fünf hundert marc ze stiure	1895
und manic pheller tiure,	
hermîn unde sîden wât,	
mit golde harte wol genât	
und manic hêrlîch bettegewant.	
die gâbe enphienc der wigant	1900
und neic ir ze lône.	
die gâbe teilte er schône	
mit sînen jungelingen.	

The description of the Christian armies in Graf Rudolf also adheres more closely to the tradition of crusading chronicles in the poet's presentation of the splendour of the tents and draperies<sup>127</sup>:

Daz gesidele hiez er machen wit.	<u>GR</u> y 42
weder e no sit	
also richiez nie ne wart.	
ich wene da nicht ne wart gespart	45
weder daz silber noch daz golt rot.	
in alle die lant man gebot	
sver verneme die mere	
daz der dare queme,	
der wurde wol enphangen.	50

The occupation with the material considerations of this life, which the true crusading knight rejects in favour of heavenly joy, is also present in the controversial horn scenes in the Rolandslied. In the Chanson de Roland, Roland refuses to blow his horn to recall the forces of Charlemagne for reasons of personal honour (ChdR 1053 f.; 1063 f.; 1073-6; 1088-91), which leads the poet to the characteristic remark:

Rollant est proz e Oliver est sage. ChdR 1093  
Ambedui unt merveillus vasselage:

In Konrad's poem, Olivir confidently points out that this battle is God's vengeance (RL 3849-59), and yet he appeals to Roland to blow his horn for the sake of his betrothed:

'wan blasestu noch din horn? RL 3865  
din neue machte uns cehelue chom,  
daz wir frolichen scaiden hinnen.  
nu tuz durch miner swester Alden willen:  
gefriste dine herliche man!'

Roland's reply is no longer based on personal pride but on a knowledge that God has allowed this situation to arise so that the Christian army, which has been chosen to become martyrs, may purify their souls in the blood of the heathen:

'daz müz nu allez an gote gestan,' RL 3870  
...  
ich swüre dir ain offen ait 3874  
daz ich iz nine blasin wil. 3875  
der haiden nist nie so uil,  
iz ne si ir aller uaictage.  
fur war ich dir sage:  
di haiden sint uor gote uirtaillet;  
so werdent abir mit blüte gerainet 3880  
di heren gotes marterare:

In the second horn scene in the Chanson, it is Oliver who points to the loss of personal honour likely to fall on Roland for having refused to blow his horn earlier (ChdR 1701; 1705-10; 1715 f.), and he blames Roland's foolhardiness while bemoaning the fact that neither of them will

see Alde again (ChdR 1720 f.; 1723 ff.). The argument is finally solved by Turpin who advises Roland to blow his horn not to gain aid but so that Charlemagne may revenge their deaths (ChdR 1742 ff.). Konrad adopts much of this into his own narrative (RL 5996 ff.), but precisely the reference to Roland's betrothed (RL 6012-15), which he also inserts in the first scene (RL 3865-9), contradicts the otherwise traditional depiction of both Roland and Olivir rejecting all earthly considerations in favour of sacrificing themselves in battle to God. This contradiction stems more directly from Konrad's adaptation of his source, however, than from a conscious effort to present a more secular view of the Christian knight<sup>128</sup>.

Christian life in early medieval times was constantly portrayed in military terms, and the imperial vassal in MHG literature was characterised by his military allegiance as well as by his Christian virtue. The 12 Peers in the Rolan̄s-  
lied are introduced as good Christians and as good soldiers<sup>129</sup>:

uil tugentliche si lebeten.	<u>RL</u> 70
si waren gute chnechte,	
des keiseres uoruechten.	
ir uan si gewanten	
nie ze dehein werltlichen scanten.	
si waren helde uil gvt,	75
der keiser was mit in wol behüt.	
si waren kuske unde reine.	

The crusading knight possessed the same virtues, including the very important humilitas, unity of purpose and trust in God's protection, combined with allegiance to his heavenly liege lord as a true soldier. Vernacular literature presented its ideal crusading knights in a vocabulary associated with the long heroic tradition in OHG and MHG, so that the more secular connotations associated with such epithets as helt, uolcdegen, wigant, herstrangen, etc.<sup>130</sup>,

and the traditional characteristics of such warriors as chûn, snel, mare, lobesam, stolz, etc.<sup>131</sup>, are modified by their application to this ideal depiction of chivalry. When Konrad refers to Regenfrit as ain helt uil got (RL 4923), or to Anseis as der tiwerliche degen (RL 5300), he is using heroic vocabulary to refer to the new miles Christi, who puts his military prowess in God's service, albeit here in an imperial context. Konrad also applies these epithets to the Christian army at large (RL 4637-9; 5120 f.; 5127; etc.)<sup>132</sup>, and his depictions of battle emphasise the military side to their imitatio Christi<sup>133</sup>:

da wart riterlichen wol gestochin:	RL 8280
do frouten sich di christen.	
manc schilt uester	
wart da uerhouwin.	

which is complemented by the proper frame of mind for a miles Christi<sup>134</sup>:

ia waren di herren edele	RL 3417
in cristenlichem lebene.	
si heten alle ain mût.	
ir herce hin ze gote stunt.	3420
si heten zucht unt scam,	
chuske unt gehorsam,	
gedult unt minne.	

The warrior monk Turpin is an example of the combination of the priest's devotion and the warrior's military prowess, which Konrad sees as the epitome of the new miles Christi, who fights to the best of his ability with the inspiration of God<sup>135</sup>:

Da uacht der biscoph Turpin:	RL 5155
...	
daz was der rechte chemphe,	5159
des heiligen Cristes schenche:	5160

Turpin rejects the life of a pure monk as of little use in the crusading situation<sup>136</sup>:

'er scol uon rechte imer münich sin  
swer hi nicht slet daz swert,  
derne wart nie mannes wert!'

RL 6297

Like Turpin, the Christian army experiences joy akin to the more primitive warrior enthusiasm of heroic poetry at the approaching battle, but their confidence rests in God (RL 3849-51; 3988 f.; 4273; 5529 f.; 7954 f.; cf. ChdR 1008 f.; etc.).

In Willehalm, the Christian knights also combine the spiritual and military characteristics demanded of the crusading knight. Willehalm is a powerful knight, who is basically sinful because of Original Sin, but who by the grace of God can gain his soul's salvation by military prowess against the heathen<sup>137</sup>:

einen ritter der dîn nie vergaz.  
swenne er gediende dînen haz  
mit sündehaften dingen,  
dîn erbarme kunde in bringen  
an diu werc, daz sîn manheit  
dînen hulden wandels was bereit.  
dîn helfe in dicke brâhte ûz nôt.

Wh. 2,27

2,30

3,1

and Vivianz's Christian virtues are counterbalanced by his personal honour and battle prowess (Wh. 23,3-5; 41,12, 29 f.; 48,6-14, 24-7; 62,8-11; etc.). Willehalm's appeal to the crusading army is aimed initially at the warrior attributes of every knight<sup>138</sup>:

ziuwer keinem hân ich daz ervorht:  
doch würde daz gotes her entworht,  
hüebe unser deheiner hie die vluht.  
ein ieslîch man durch sîne zuht  
spreche, als erz in dem herzen weiz.  
als uns nû vil manec puneiz  
ze gegenstrîte dringet,  
swen denne sîn herze twinget  
wider hinder sich und niht hin vûr,  
der hât hie baz an der kûr,  
daz er nû wider kêre,  
dan er die vluht dort mêre.

Wh. 320,13

320,15

320,20

and although the trust in heavenly reward cannot be lacking in such a Feldpredigt, Wolfram even introduces a scene of

military revelry and drunkenness after battle, in which the purely secular side to military activity is presented in all its clarity (Wh. 448,11-30).

The application of such heroic terms to the crusading miles Christi is also a feature of the Spielmannsdichtung. King Oswald, apart from being a good Christian monarch, is a valiant warrior against the heathen<sup>139</sup>:

sant Oswalt der wigant	<u>MOSw.</u> 2895
vuorte den sturmvanen in sîner hant,	
der manheite was er niht ein tôr,	
den sînen vaht er ritterlîchen vor,	
er vaht also ein wilder bere	
unde gap den sînen rât unde lêre,	2900
er vuorte den strît gar wislîche, ...	

and the Christian army in König Rother is joyful at the approaching battle and steadfast in its faith:

Wie uro si alle waren.	<u>Roth.</u> 4180
In was zo deme storne uile lief.	
Si ne dachten andie ulugit nit.	

In Herzog Ernst, the spirit of self-sacrifice necessary in the Crusader is combined with the appropriate knightly virtues of the military warrior (HE 1866-86; 1904 f.; 4194-4201), and in Graf Rudolf, the knightly prowess of Rudolf, his material honour and reputation are employed in allegiance with the heathen forces against the Christian army (GR Fb 46-52), although he possesses the Christian virtues necessary in a true miles Christi<sup>140</sup>:

... al der genoz	<u>GR</u> A 1
die ie man hiezen.	
sîne tugende in nicht en liezen	
tun nicheine dorpericheit.	

MHG literature reflects the Church's consideration with the special kind of knighthood combining the qualities of the knight and the monk by occasional references to the rôle of the Templar in a crusading situation, but this is by no means always seen in positive terms. The Templars in



Orendel are part of the general crusading background to Jerusalem (cf. Or. 1950-3), and they are characterised by a spirit of devotion in their religious service of God:

wie schiere der degen sach Or. 835  
vier schone tempelheren  
mit harte grozen eren,  
wie balde sie dar gingen,  
die messe sie an gefingen.  
do die frone messe was gesungen 840  
und sich der priester kerte umbe, ...

Nevertheless, their lack of Christian charity towards Orendel (cf. Or. 842 f.) is at variance with the demands made of the Order by St. Bernard in his De Laude Novae Militiae, and the MHG poet also characterises them as pre-occupied more with earthly matters at Bride's court:

er sprach: 'ez sint die tempelheren Or. 866  
mit harte grozen eren,  
sie wollent kurzwil driben  
vor miner frouwen Briden,  
vor der edelen kuniginne.' 870

The Templars are also petty and jealous in their later attitude to Orendel and Bride:

do die tempelheren sahen daz, Or. 1201  
daz der bode kumen was,  
durch der kuniginne nit  
sie riedent dem heren uf den lip.

and in direct opposition to Bernard's prohibition of jousting, they are often involved in this secular knightly activity<sup>141</sup>. In contrast, the Templars in Salman und Morolf are portrayed in their proper Church function, where they continually carry on the fight against the heathen, and they are also referred to with heroic epithets (Sum 488,3-5; 561,3-5). It is significant that the knights of the Grail in Parzival are designated by Wolfram as templeisen, i. e. as knights who in a spirit of nova devotio attempt to eradicate all evil in their soul and do penance for their sins:

ez wont manc werlîchiu hant	Parz. 468,24
ze Munsalvaesche bîme grâl.	468,25
durch âventiur die alle mâl	
rîtent manege reise:	
die selben templeise,	
swâ si kumbr oder prîs bejagent,	
für ir sünde si daz tragent.	468,30

However, Wolfram's templeisen are not the same figures as those propounded by Bernard, for despite their Christian existence and the emphasis laid on Christian charity in their actions, they are equally concerned with jousting, with the adventures of a knight-errant and with worldly honour (Parz. 441,1 and 11 ff.; 443,5 ff.; 468,26 ff.). Wolfram's templeisen are knights, who, to the best of their ability, attempt to reconcile knightly achievement in this world with the offering of good works to God (cf. Parz. 827,19 ff.), and they represent Wolfram's answer to Bernard's demands for the warrior-monk. Parzival's schildes ambet umben grâl (Parz. 333,27) portrays the progression of a miles saecularis to the knightly interpretation of a miles christianus. Gurnemanz's advice to the young Parzival shows the secular knightly ethic to be lacking in the Christian virtue of caritas, and Parzival thus fails to ask the correct question on his first visit to the Grail Castle (Parz. 169,29-174,6; 239,10; 255,2 ff.). The process of realisation that he has sinned by denying his feudal God appropriate service (Parz. 332,7 ff.; 456,29 f.; 460,28 ff.), and his long suffering in pain and misfortune, leads Parzival to God's grace and to the leadership of the Grail as the exemplary Christian knight in the eyes of Wolfram and his knightly audience (cf. Parz. 781,3 ff.). The MHG reflection of the life of the Templar is thus by no means identical with the ideal proposed by Bernard, but, in a

manner similar to the presentation of the lay miles Christi, in vernacular literature presents a knightly interpretation of this warrior-monk.

3. In addition to adopting secular terms in MHG alongside epithets associated with more traditional Church propaganda to refer to the novum militiae genus, vernacular crusading literature adopts two related motifs which crusading historiography was to develop with the expansion of the nova devotio. With the personal salvation of each individual knight being at stake, the idea arose of the Crusader being chosen by God, as were the Israelites, to fulfil God's vengeance. The chronicles of the First Crusade had already recorded Urban II as referring to the Franks as the chosen people of God<sup>142</sup>:

Gens Francorum, gens transmontana, gens, sicuti in pluribus vestris elucet operibus, a Deo electa et dilecta, tam situ terrarum quam fide catholica, quam honore sanctae Ecclesiae, ab universis nationibus segregata: ...

This crusading motif gathered further import in later propaganda and chronicles as the expiation of sins by the individual Crusader became more important, and Crusaders were later referred to as populus Israel<sup>143</sup>. The idea of the Crusaders fulfilling God's vengeance on the heathen was equally part of the propaganda for the First Crusade, but gained in importance when the new miles Christi was presented with the opportunity of avenging the wrongs done to Christ in his Passion and in the atrocities committed against God's people in the Holy Land<sup>144</sup>. Albert of Aachen saw the vengeance on the heathen as necessitating their extermination<sup>145</sup>, and the author of the Gesta Francorum

presented those recently martyred as crying out for vengeance on entering heaven and appealing to the Crusaders on earth to avenge their deaths<sup>146</sup>:

Qui in caelum triumphantes portarunt stolam recepti  
martyrii, una uoce dicentes: "Vindica Domine sanguinem  
nostrum, qui pro te effusus est; qui es benedictus et  
laudabilis in secula seculorum."

The reflection of the motif praising the Franks as a warlike nation in vernacular literature had been a common one since Carolingian times. In c. 890 Otfrid von Weissenburg explains why he wrote his Evangelienbuch in Frankish and not in Latin<sup>147</sup>:

Sie sint sô sama chuani selb sô thie Români;  
ni tharf man thaz ouh redinon, thaz Kriachi in  
thes giuuidarôn.

...  
Ni sî thiot, thaz thes gidrahte, in thiu iz mit  
in fehte,  
thoh Mêdi iz sîn ioh Persi, .....

The Franks are the protagonists of the imperial mission in Konrad's Rolandslied<sup>148</sup>, and Roland appeals to the bravery and courage of the Franks in battle:

'gedenchet, helde, an uwer groz ellen!' RL 6169

Roland boasts that he had aided the warlike Franks to expand into the lands which truly belonged to them, thus combining the theme of imperial expansion and praise of the Franks:

Franchen di chûnen RL 6849  
ne liez ich nie gerûwen, 6950  
unze si chom an ir rechten stam.

and Konrad alludes to the legendary descent of the Franks from Troy, or to the Crusades: "... allusion, sans doute, à l'expédition légendaire de Charles en Orient et à la légende qui faisait descendre les Francs de Troie. On pourrait aussi y voir une allusion à une croisade à laquelle les Francs Ripuaires auraient pris part."<sup>149</sup> The Christian

warriors in the Rolandslied are also seen with many biblical allusions as children of God<sup>150</sup>:

di uil wol uz erwelten, RL 4975  
di al daz wol erherten  
daz si gote gehizen:

Heraclius in the Kaiserchronik presents the example of the Hebrew people for the Christian warrior's trust in God<sup>151</sup>:

'ich sage iu ze ain bîspelle: Kchr. 11209  
ain liut haizet Hebrêî, 11210  
dâ sult ir nemen pilde bî;

and in Orendel the armour of David directly associates Orendel's deeds with the Old Testament<sup>152</sup>. Even in Willehalm, where Wolfram portrays the imperial army very negatively, the poet also has the Christian leaders appeal to the battle honour of the Franks<sup>153</sup>:

nû denket, helde, ir habet gedolt Wh. 303,6  
in Francrîche manegen prîs:

and despite the Weltherrschaftsgedanke, the Frankish soldiers are continually mentioned by Wolfram<sup>154</sup>.

In the ideology of the imperial holy war, in which divine will and imperial purpose were synonymous, the Emperor implemented God's mission and the Christian army was the executive arm of God's vengeance upon the heathen peoples. In the Kaiserchronik Karl is chosen as the instrument of God's vengeance on the Romans<sup>155</sup>:

'diu urtaile ist vor gote getân, Kchr. 14595  
diu râche sol uber si regân.'

and in the Rolandslied Karl is God's chosen servant (RL 7004), to whom the angel brings the divine command to take vengeance on the heathen<sup>156</sup>:

'dir nemac nicht gewerren. RL 7011  
uol rite du dine raise,  
nefurchte nichaine fraise!  
nim du uolleclichen gerich:  
dine uiente wirf ich unter dich 7015  
dir ze ainem fuzscamel.'

God even implies that it is Karl's duty to destroy the heathen Baligan, who has been condemned to Hell (RL 8545-9). Combined with the theme of divine vengeance is the motif of personal vengeance by Karl for the death of Roland<sup>157</sup>:

'nu uerlich uns din liecht!                      RL 8431  
ich ne sorge umbe anders nicht  
wan daz si uns entrinnen.  
den sunnen wil ich an dich dingen,  
unz ich gereche Rolanten.'                      8435

just as Turpin and Olivir take vengeance on the heathen for those Christians that have been martyred<sup>158</sup>:

Turpin unt Oliuir                      RL 6269  
rachen mit ellen                      6270  
ir uil liebe gesellen:  
si erualten manigen helt guten.

The duty of the Emperor as executive arm of God's vengeance is transferred with the motif of God's chosen people to the individual Crusader, and the poet of the Kaiserchronik is incapable of listing all the deeds that God fulfilled through his servants on the First Crusade (Kchr. 16762-4). In the Rolandslied, Karl also calls upon his army to exact God's vengeance on the heathen (RL 7715-19), and the heathen recognise that for them the Day of the Last Judgement has come<sup>159</sup>:

si hiwen sich mit den swerten,                      RL 5948  
daz si selben wolten wane  
daz daz himilfür ware                      5950  
chomen uber alle di erde,  
daz der suntac scolte werde.

These apocalyptic connotations of the battle are enhanced by the supernatural phenomena at the death of Roland reminiscent of the death of Christ (RL 6924-49)<sup>160</sup>.

Personal vengeance by the individual warrior for his martyred companions and divine vengeance exacted by the individual Christian knight for the wrongs done to Christendom are closely associated in the Rolandslied and the

Kaiserchronik. The motif of personal vengeance for Vivianz and the fallen Christian knights, as well as for the dishonour which has fallen upon the Christian Empire, also remains important for both battles in Willehalm<sup>161</sup>; thus Willehalm fights in a vengeful mood in the first battle<sup>162</sup>:

der marcgrâve rechen Wh. 54,16  
kunde alsus die sînen nôt:

and even the Emperor is concerned with vengeance for the losses to the Christian Empire:

al die durch mich in râche sint Wh. 184,8  
um Vivianzes sterben,  
die lâze ich gein mir werben. 184,10

Wolfram presents the second battle as mainly one of vengeance<sup>163</sup>:

ûf Alischanz der êrste strît, Wh. 305,24  
der Pînele gap den rê, 305,25  
des mâge sît tâtên drumme wê  
ûf Alischanz getoufter diet:  
Vivianzes tôt ouch sider schiet  
manegen werden heiden von sînem leben:  
sus râche wider râche wart gegeben. 305,30

It is significant for Wolfram's attitude to the heathen, however, that, unlike the Rolandslied, the vengeance of annihilation is not exacted by Willehalm in the second battle, but his treatment of Matribleiz is characterised by a spirit of forgiveness which springs not least from his rôle as victor in the battle<sup>164</sup>.

In the crusading lyric, God is seen in eschatological terms as the feudal lord exacting vengeance in his judgement on all in the Holy Land (L 16,15-21), and Walther also sees the Christian army as the executive arm of God's vengeance on the heathen<sup>165</sup>:

got wil mit heldes handen L. 77,40  
dort rechen sînen anden. 78,1  
sich schar von manegen landen  
des heilegeistes her.

But God's vengeance does not only strike the heathen, for the Christian losses in the Holy Land are seen by Albrecht von Johansdorf as God's vengeance on the inconsistency of man when faced with God's opportunity to gain heavenly reward by penance<sup>166</sup>:

wir haben in eime järe der liute vil	
verlorn.	ME 88,27
dâ bî sô merket gotes zorn.	
nu erkenne sich ein ieglich herze guot.	
diu werlt ist unstaete.	88,30
ich meine die dâ minnent valsche raete:	
den wirt ze jungest schîn wies an dem	
ende tuot.	

4. The representation of the crusading knight in MHG crusading literature is a complex one which does not always coincide with the traditional view of the Church - a view which St. Bernard went a long way to forming in his proclamation of the Templar as the true miles Christi in the light of the nova devotio arising during and after the First Crusade. MHG poets had to come to terms with the figure of the warrior-monk and with the strict prescription of the true servant of God in a crusading context, and this became associated with their attempts to solve the problem posed by the demands of the knight's profession and the demands of a Christian existence. They were faced with reconciling achievement in this world with rendering good works to God in order to gain heavenly reward after death. The result in MHG literature is a crusading knight exhibiting both secular and religious characteristics. On the one hand, the crusading knight is a humble, self-sacrificing, penitent servant of God, who places his military service at the disposal of a feudal God, in whom he trusts completely and from whom he achieves divine reward after a process of



purification represented externally by his battle against the heathen and internally by the eradication of evil in his own soul; on the other hand, the crusading knight lives in this world and is governed by the demands of personal reputation and prestige, which his military profession allows him to extend and to increase, which entail costly armour and material refinements typical of his social position, and of which he has a right to be proud. MHG poets are influenced not least in their portrayal of their crusading knights by the heroic tradition in German poetry, in which the military virtues of bravery and battle prowess were predominant and in which the demands of the Christian religion on the knight played a subordinate rôle. From before the First Crusade, successive popes and Church propagandists had demanded a subjugation of the knightly ethic to Christian principles, and although Christian chivalry in MHG literature has accepted many of the Christian duties formerly associated with the Emperor's mission as head of secular Christendom, the strict demands of St. Bernard on the ascetic warrior-monk in the Order of the Temple were too extreme to be accepted by a military and social class imbued with the secular requirements of both Minne and personal reputation. The accounts of such chroniclers of the Second and later Crusades as Odo of Deuil, Otto of Freising, and the author of the account of Frederick Barbarossa's Crusade, constantly referred to crusading knights who seemed to fall short of the all-demanding Church ideal, and MHG crusading literature presents a similar picture of the crusading knight in whom spiritual characteristics and secular affinities are combined and

have equal validity for the poet. MHG poets have, indeed, interpreted the figure of the crusading knight in their own manner and according to the viewpoint of their own knightly class and that of their audience.

One of the central points of all crusading propaganda since Urban II was the privilegia promised the Crusader in return for his service of God, and in the next chapter an analysis of the reflection of such rewards in the eyes of the crusading knight will complete the picture of redemptive chivalry as seen by the poets of MHG crusading literature.

Footnotes to Chapter 4

- <sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Chapter 2, pp. 154 ff., and notes 95-108; Bonizo of Sutri, De vita Christiana, Liber VII (Perels, pp. 230 ff.); Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 235 ff.; Reuter, Die Lehre vom Ritterstand, pp. 139 f.; Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 5 f., and 330 ff. (note 11); Bumke, Ritterbegriff, p. 112, note 104; van Winter, Rittertum, pp. 35 f.
- <sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Chapter 2, pp. 148 ff., and notes 62-65; Franz, Die kirchlichen Benediktionen, II, p. 293; Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 75 ff.; Bumke, Ritterbegriff, pp. 111 ff.; Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, p. 4; van Winter, Rittertum, pp. 44 ff.; Barber, The Knight and Chivalry, pp. 39 f.
- <sup>3</sup> Bumke, Ritterbegriff, p. 112; Heer, Aufgang, pp. 157 ff.
- <sup>4</sup> Modern research into the ethical code applicable to all levels and social groups comprising the chivalric classes has been overshadowed by the conflicting views of Ehrismann and Curtius on das ritterliche Tugendsystem (cf. the collection of articles in Ritterliches Tugendsystem, ed. G. Eifler), but, despite common characteristics both in historical and poetical reality, all attempts to evaluate the knight *per se*, or indeed the poetic or historical picture of the knight, entail too much of an abstraction: Cf. above, Introduction, pp. 15 ff.; Jackson, ZfdA, 101 (1972), p. 105; Hempel, Übermuot, pp. 103 ff.; etc. The following remarks are intended only to elucidate several characteristics that all classes of knight had in common.
- <sup>5</sup> Hempel, Übermuot, pp. 117 ff.
- <sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. 120 ff.
- <sup>7</sup> van Winter, Rittertum, p. 24.
- <sup>8</sup> Cf. Baldric of Dol, RHC IV, 14 F f.; 15 A; William of Tyre, RHC I, i, p. 41; Robert the Monk, RHC III, 728 E f.; Fulcher of Chartres, RHC III, 324 C-E; William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum Anglorum, II, p. 396; also Rousset, Les Origines, p. 60; Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, p. 10.
- <sup>9</sup> Guibert of Nogent, RHC IV, 138 E.
- <sup>10</sup> Cf. above, Chapter 3, pp. 242 ff.
- <sup>11</sup> Waas, Geschichte, I, pp. 158 ff.; Runciman, History, II, pp. 18 ff.
- <sup>12</sup> Jordan, Das Eindringen des Lehnswesens, pp. 71 ff.
- <sup>13</sup> Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 15 f.
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 16; Cohn, Pursuit, pp. 73 f.
- <sup>15</sup> Cf. above, Chapter 3, p. 281 and note 181, and the letter by Abbot Haimo to English nuns, c. 1145, quoted in

- Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, p. 16.
- 16 Heer, Aufgang, p. 436.
- 17 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, p. 16.
- 18 Runciman, History, II, pp. 247 ff.
- 19 Ibid., pp. 249 f.
- 20 MPL 180, 1064 A ff.; Otto of Freising, Gesta Friderici, pp. 55 ff. (I, 36); Boček, Codex Diplomaticus Moraviae, I, pp. 241 ff.; Caspar, NA 45 (1924), pp. 300 ff.; Cramer, Palästinahefte 17-20 (1939), pp. 134 ff.
- 21 MPL 182, 921 A ff.
- 22 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, p. 25.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 MPL 182, 565 A; Mayer, Geschichte, pp. 99 ff.; Cramer, Palästinahefte 17-20 (1939), pp. 139 ff.; Schwerin, Die Aufrufe der Päpste, p. 59.
- 25 Cf. the second book of Bernard's De Consideratione, MPL 182, 741 C ff.; Mayer, Geschichte, pp. 108 f.; Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 26 f.
- 26 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, p. 28.
- 27 Cf. above, Chapter 3, pp. 263 ff.; Rousset, Les Origines, pp. 178 ff.; Baldric of Dol had Urban II point out the spiritual advantage of dying in the same place as Christ died for mankind, RHC IV, 15 B; and Christ's Redemption was the Crusader's protection against the Devil: Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 493 A.
- 28 Gesta Francorum, p. 37 (VI, xvii).
- 29 Cf. Ep. 363, MPL 182, 565 A, and De Laude, MPL 182, 921 B f.; Schwerin, Die Aufrufe der Päpste, pp. 44 f.; Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, p. 21; also Eugene III's bull, Boček, Codex Diplomaticus Moraviae, I, p. 241.
- 30 MPL 182, 924 D; cf. ibid., 671 A ff., and Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 21 f.
- 31 MPL 182, 565 A; cf. above, note 24; II Cor. vi, 2; Isaiah, xlix, 8.
- 32 Cf. MPL 182, 566 C - 567 A; cf. Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 24 f.; Cramer, Palästinahefte 17-20 (1939), p. 140; Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, pp. 111 f.
- 33 Ep. 78 by Hadrian IV in 1157 to the Grand Master of the Temple in Spain, Kehr, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, NF 13 (1926), p. 361.

- 34 Cf. Innocent III, MPL 215, 1502 A.
- 35 Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 10 f.; von Harnack, Militia Christi, pp. 6 ff.
- 36 Cf. Kchr. 4220; 6184-98; 6217; 10264-7; 10877-81; etc.; also RL 256 and Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 95 ff.
- 37 Cf. Or. 3447 ff. - the Christian Credo on the lips of the doorkeeper to the heathen king's palace.
- 38 For RL 256, cf. Matth. iv, 19; vii, 22; x, 38; Eph. v, 1 f.; I Cor. xi, 1; I Thess. i, 6 ff.; I Pet. ii, 21 f.; etc.; Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 64 f.; 95 ff. For the motif of the cup, cf. Matth. xx, 22 f.; xxvi, 39-42; Mark xiv, 36; John, xviii, 11; etc.; Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 98 f., sees this motif as preparation for martyrdom, thus connecting it with the older monk-like imitatio Christi; cf. also Altdeutsche Predigten, I, 343, 18-31. The opera bona (RL 271) for the Crusader include the virtues of the true miles Christi - caritas, poenitentia, humilitas, oboedientia, disciplina, etc. Cf. Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 104 f.; Hempel, Übermuot, pp. 27 ff. and also pp. 320 ff.
- 39 Cf. Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 179 ff.
- 40 Cf. MF 210, 35-38; also Kemper, ZfdPh 90 (1971) Sonderheft, pp. 123 ff.
- 41 RHC IV, 14 F.
- 42 De Laude, MPL 182, 923 B; cf. Ep. 363, MPL 182, 566 C.
- 43 Ibid., 923 B-D; cf. E. Vacandard, Leben des heiligen Bernard von Clairvaux, übers. M. Sierp, Mainz, 1897-8, Band I, pp. 307 ff.
- 44 De Laude, MPL 182, 926 C; cf. ibid., 654 A; MPL 180, 1065 C; Caspar, NA 45 (1924), pp. 300 ff.; Gregory VIII, MPL 202, 1542 D; Celestine III, MPL 206, 1109 A; Odo of Deuil, De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem, pp. 6 and 8; etc.
- 45 De Laude, MPL 182, 922 C - 923 A; cf. Vacandard, Leben des heiligen Bernard, I, pp. 314 f.
- 46 De Laude, MPL 182, 921 C.
- 47 Ibid., 924 A f.; Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, p. 23.
- 48 Ibid., 924 B.
- 49 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, p. 24.
- 50 Cf. Ep. 363, MPL 182, 565 B; Ep. 458, MPL 182, 651 C; also Boček, Codex Diplomaticus Moraviae, I, p. 245.
- 51 Cf. MPL 182, 567 A; also the demands for humility by Conrad of Louis VII in Odo of Deuil, De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem, p. 100; Innocent III, MPL 214, 834 D.

- 52 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 24 f.
- 53 Louis VII's words to his barons in Odo of Deuil, De Profectione Ludovoci VII in Orientem, p. 130.
- 54 Ep. 360, MPL 200, 385 C; cf. Eugene III in Boček, Codex Diplomaticus Moraviae, I, p. 242.
- 55 Boček, Codex Diplomaticus Moraviae, I, p. 242; MPL 180, 1065 A f.; I Maccabees ii, 1 ff.; cf. also Alexander III, MPL 200, 385 C f.; Hadrian IV, MPL 188, 1537 B; letter of 1157 to the Master of the Temple in Spain, Kehr, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen NF 18 (1926), p. 360.
- 56 Cf. Ep. 355, MPL 182, 557 D - 558 A.
- 57 Ep. 359, MPL 182, 561 B.
- 58 Ep. 363, MPL 182, 568 A.
- 59 Cf. De Consideratione, II, MPL 182, 742 C and 743 A.
- 60 Ibid., 743 C; cf. Exodus xvii, 1 ff.; etc.
- 61 De Consideratione III, 1, MPL 182, 758 B; cf. also MPL 182, 744 B and John Casa-Marius, Ep. 386, MPL 182, 590 C.
- 62 De Consideratione III, 1, MPL 182, 759 C ff., and Chapter 6, below.
- 63 Cf. above, Chapter 1, pp. 80 f.; Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 25 ff.
- 64 Cf. the later propaganda of Celestine III, MPL 206, 971 C f.
- 65 Waas, Geschichte, I, p. 158; Runciman, History, I, pp. 134 ff.; Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 18 f.; Mayer, Geschichte, pp. 101 f., points out that this contingent was weakened by the departure of those Saxon nobles to fight against the Wends on the borders of the Empire; cf. for the influence of Cistercian preaching on the Crusade, E. Willems, "Cîteaux et la seconde Croisade", RHE 49 (1954), pp. 116-51.
- 66 For the rebirth of imperial ideology in crusading context, see above, Chapter 1, pp. 78 ff. and 115 ff.
- 67 Cf. K. von See, Germanische Heldensage, Stoffe, Probleme, Methoden, Frankfurt/Main, 1971.
- 68 Cf. above, Chapter 3, pp. 246 f.
- 69 Cf. Kehr. 11339-45; 12848-50; 13421-6; 16146-9; etc.
- 70 Cf. Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 20, 22 f., 25.
- 71 Cf. ibid., pp. 18; 37 ff.; 87 ff.
- 72 Cf. RL 3508 f., and Luke i, 51 ff.; James iv, 6; I Peter v, 5; Prov. viii, 13; Coloss. iii, 12; but not St. John!

- 73 Wh. 52,17-21; 90,16 f.; 216,1-3, 24-9; 220,1-7; 227,12-14; 250,15-19; 262,14-27; 306,12-15; etc.; also Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 143-80.
- 74 Cf. Wh. 4,3-6; Willehalm's asceticism during his absence from Orange is another example of this, although his treatment of the Empress and his conduct at Louis' court are a grave exception to this virtue.
- 75 Cf. above, Chapter 1, pp. 84 ff.
- 76 Cf. RL 832; 1312-14; etc. Wh. 207,11 f.; 306,18-24; etc. Kchr. 8402-8; 15202-7; etc.
- 77 Cf. RL 1076-80; 3934 f.; 4443-6; 4869-71; 5134-6; 5252-8; 7451-7; 7754 f.; 7852 f.; 7882-90; etc. Wh. 403,5-10; etc.
- 78 Eugene III's bull Quantum praedecessores had already pointed to the personal fame and honour to be won by bringing honour to the name of Christianity (note 54, above). Cf. the picture of the Franks as the chosen people of God, pp. 350 ff.
- 79 Cf. Hempel, Übermuot, pp. 106 f.
- 80 Ibid., p. 107.
- 81 Cf. Kchr. 5679-82; 12784-6; 14365-7; etc.
- 82 Cf. above, Chapter 2, pp. 170 ff.
- 83 Cf. Wh. 450,4 f.; 459,18-20; 461,3 f.; etc. In the same way Willehalm is also portrayed as Minneritter; cf. Wh. 3,4-7; etc.
- 84 Cf. Wh. 323,15-324,7; 325,24-327,9; cf. also Friedrich von Hausen, MF 48,13-18.
- 85 Cf. Parz. 35,25-36,2; 37,8; 98,20 f.
- 86 Cf. Reinmar von Hagenau, MF 180,39-181,1.
- 87 Cf. Wh. 270,28; 296,5; 452,19-25; 453,1-6, 10-12; 453,13-456,24; also below, Chapter 6, pp. 481 ff.
- 88 Cf. Baldric of Dol, RHC IV, 15 E; Robert the Monk, RHC III, 728 D f.; 747 E; Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 271 B; 320 B; 393 E f.; 401 F - 402 A; 501 F f.; 509 D f.; etc. William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum Anglorum, II, pp. 397 f.; etc.
- 89 Cf. above, pp. 314 ff.; Vacandard, Leben des heiligen Bernard, I, pp. 307 ff.
- 90 Cf. Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 99 f., and the quotations from Bernard's De Laude and the rules of the Order of the Temple. Also RL 8288-91.
- 91 Nevertheless, some Christian knights had shown an interest in this booty (RL 4192-4) and were therefore not characterised by the spirit of renunciation typical of crusading

propaganda. The provision of booty was one of the more popular aspects to the Crusades, as the chronicles show. Cf. above, Chapter 2, p. 166 and note 148.

- 92 Cf. Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 69 f.; also RL 78-82; 930 f.; 1023 f.; 3248-54; 3408; 4519-23; 4872; 5398 f.; 5759-64; 6576-9; 6658 f.; 7746 f.; 7891 f.; 7966-8; 9066-8; etc.
- 93 Cf. Wh. 459,11.
- 94 Cf. Parz. 435,14-18; Wolfram's seems to criticise medieval society in Parz. 116,25-7, when he states that he knows of no-one willing to show the same steadfastness in poverty and hardship as Herzeloide. Cf. also Gyburg in Wh. 215,6 f.; 216,1-3, 24-9; 221,26; 262,14-23; Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 146 f.
- 95 A detailed interpretation of each poem is not possible in the context of this study, and I shall refer to the appropriate secondary literature in passing. The documentation from the crusading lyric in the following pages shows the relationship between the spirit of renunciation by the Crusader and the conflict of love for his lady and the love for God inherent in the crusading idea.
- 96 Böhmer, Untersuchungen, p. 29.
- 97 Cf. Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 182 f.
- 98 H. de Boor, "Friedrich von Hausen. Min herze und min lîp", in Die Deutsche Lyrik: Form und Geschichte, Interpretationen, Band I, Vom Mittelalter bis zur Romantik, ed. B. von Wiese, Düsseldorf, 1964, pp. 35-42; Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 183 ff.
- 99 MF 86,1-8; cf. the critical text in U. Pretzel, "Die Kreuzzugslieder Albrechts von Johansdorf", FS L. L. Hammerich, Copenhagen, 1962, pp. 229-44, especially pp. 232 f.; also Ingebrand, Interpretationen, pp. 77 ff. For the similarity between Johansdorf's motifs and crusading propaganda, see also Wolfram, ZfdA 30 (1886), pp. 111 ff.
- 100 Critical text also in Pretzel, FS L. L. Hammerich, pp. 239 ff.; cf. Ingebrand, Interpretationen, pp. 93 ff.; U. Fülleborn, "Kreuzzug und Minne in den Liedern Albrechts von Johansdorf", Euph. 58 (1964), pp. 337-74, especially pp. 352, 362 f.; 368. My interpretation of MF 90,9, ... ob ich belîbe, agrees with Pretzel, FS L. L. Hammerich, p. 240; Fülleborn, Euph. 58 (1964), pp. 350 ff.; Ingebrand, Interpretationen, p. 98 and Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, p. 190 f.
- 101 Fülleborn, Euph. 58 (1964), p. 362.
- 102 Cf. MF 88,13-17, where Johansdorf emphasises the Christian rôle to be played by this lady in feudal society, and MF 88,19-26, where he expresses his real concern for those he leaves behind.
- 103 Cf. MF 87,21 f.; 95,6-8.



- 104 Fülleborn, Euph. 58 (1964), pp. 351 ff.
- 105 MF 87,12; cf. Ingebrand, Interpretationen, pp. 92 f.
- 106 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, p. 196; cf. MF 206, 10-18.
- 107 In MF 211,20-6, Hartmann does not completely reject the courtly values of medieval society, but he sees them to find their sublimation in the service of God: the lady who supports the Crusader is eligible for half the heavenly lôn gained on the expedition.
- 108 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 201 f.; cf. for a discussion of these controversial lines, G. Jungbluth, "Das dritte Kreuzlied Hartmanns", Euph. 49 (1955), pp. 145-62; Ingebrand, Interpretationen, pp. 160 ff.; the feudal relationship of Hartmann to his liege lord (see also above, Chapter 2, pp. 168 ff., and note 157), and the rejection of all earthly values in favour of a special relationship with God, support this reading of these lines.
- 109 Cf. MF 218,13 f.
- 110 Cf. above, Chapter 2, pp. 200 and 202 f.; F.-W. Wentzlaff-Eggebert, "Hartmann von Aue, Dem kriuze zimt wol reiner muot", in Wege zum Gedicht, eds. R. Hirschenauer and A. Weber, Munich, 1962, pp. 45-53, especially pp. 49 ff.; H. Denser and K. Rybka, "Kreuzzugs- und Minnelyrik, Interpretationen zu Friedrich von Hausen und Hartmann von Aue", WW 21 (1971), pp. 402-11, especially pp. 409 ff.
- 111 Cf. Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, p. 206.
- 112 Cf. Ingebrand, Interpretationen, pp. 136 ff.
- 113 Cf. MF 181,14; M.-L. Dittrich, "Reinmars Kreuzlied (MF 181,13)", FS Ludwig Wolff, Neumünster, 1962, pp. 241-64.
- 114 Cf. MF 180,34 f. - Kraus's edition of Des Minnesangs Frühling sees these lines as not genuine Reinmar.
- 115 Dittrich, FS Ludwig Wolff, p. 261.
- 116 MF 182,9 ff.; Reinmar prays to the Virgin Mary that his thoughts may be turned in the direction of God's service - an effort which he cannot fulfil alone, cf. MF 180,30 f.
- 117 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 236 f.
- 118 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 245 f.; cf. also HE 1-30.
- 119 Especially L 125,1-3; the very form of this poem recalls the heroic spirit of knightly times, in so far as the poem is written in the same metric pattern as Das Nibelungenlied; cf. Walther von der Vogelweide, Gedichte, ed. Wapnewski, p. 251.
- 120 Cf. Walther von der Vogelweide, L 13,5-8; Friedrich von

Hausen, MF 53,31-4.

- 121 Cf. above, pp. 315 f.
- 122 Cf. RL 7742-5; 7880 f.
- 123 Cf. Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 134 ff.
- 124 Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 65 ff.
- 125 Cf. Wh. 125,8-30; 128,12-17; 128,30-129,3; etc. Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 106 ff.
- 126 Cf. Wh. 63,26-30; etc. At another stage Wolfram refers to both armies as being made up of Minneritter and Ruhmritter: cf. Wh. 88,12-14; 361,10-30; 370,3-5; 379,14 f.
- 127 Kraus (Mittelhochdeutsches Übungsbuch, ed. C. von Kraus, Heidelberg, 1912 (Germanistische Bibliothek, 1. Sammlung, 3. Reihe, Band 2), p. 61, y 20), has the more acceptable reading weder e noch sit for GR y 43. Cf. GR  $\alpha$  b 1-29; D 45-8; Ab 11-28; K 1-8; etc. Such descriptions of material splendour were common in the crusading chronicles from the First Crusade: cf. Albert von Aachen (RHC IV, 331 B):  
     ... sol radiis fulgebat lucidissimis, cujus splendor  
     in clipeos aureos et vestes ferreas refulsit; signa  
     et vexilla gemmis et ostro fulgida erecta et hastis  
     infixa coruscabant.  
     Cf. also RHC IV, 358 E; etc.
- 128 Konrad also includes the motifs of material rewards offered to induce the Crusaders to take the Cross (RL 152-4), but significantly not one of the Christians accepts.
- 129 Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 37 ff.; cf. also RL 1370 ff.; 2775 ff.; etc.
- 130 Bumke, Ritterbegriff, pp. 32 ff.
- 131 Cf. Hempel, Übermuot, pp. 117 ff.
- 132 A reference to all the heroic terms in crusading literature at this stage is neither profitable nor necessary. I merely refer to a number of examples of such termini used to refer to the new miles Christi.
- 133 Cf. RL 4114 f.; 4121; 4635-9; 5468-77; 5567 f.; 5976-9; 6196 f.; 7962-4; etc.
- 134 Cf. RL 214-8; 2445-9; 3450-2; 3459-64; etc.
- 135 Konrad points to the five main characteristics of such a warrior-monk in RL 5161 f.; 5163 f.; 5165 f.; 5167; and 5168-70. His reference to Turpin as God's schenche combines the knightly characteristics of feudal society with the clerical office of Communion, cf. also RL 5393-5; 6599; 6653-7; etc.
- 136 Although priests have their function in battle as well: cf. RL 1268-70; 3429-40; etc.

- 137 Cf. Wh. 3,25-4,2; 57,20-2; 89,20-27; 441,1-3; 458,11 f.; etc.
- 138 Cf. Wh. 320,26-30. Wolfram applies the heroic epithets of bravery and strength to both sides: Wh. 10,30-11,1; 19,10-13; 23,15-21; 87,16-22; 365,16-20; 384,18-385,12; etc.
- 139 MOsw. 111; 123; 133; 187; 192; 1509-12; etc.
- 140 GR  $\beta$  b 3,5-8;  $\delta$  b 39-42; Db 6-14,16-19; F 52 f.; Ib 41 (for the positive Germanic epithet gemeit, see Hempel, Übermuot, p. 126); etc. Cf. also the positive stolz in GR  $\delta$  11; also Wh. 388,11; Or. 2941; SuM 67,4. In the same way the heroic motif of grief shown for one's fallen comrades does not detract from the positive picture of a miles Christi: cf. RL 6148-50; 6965-8; etc., Wh. 67,9 ff.; 69,18 ff.; 454,15 ff.
- 141 Cf. above, pp. 315 ff. and Or. 1341; 1360; 1575; 1878.
- 142 Robert the Monk, RHC III, 727 B f.; Robert makes the parallel with the Israelites explicit in RHC III, 747 D f. Cf. also RHC III, 728 B f., and 729 B; Guibert of Nogent, RHC IV, 136 C f.; 138 C f.; 139 F; etc.; Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 363 C f. (cf. Exodus xiv, 14); 483 D f.; 487 A f.; etc.; Ekkehard of Aura, MGH SS VI, 222,6-10 and 30 f.; etc.; William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum Anglorum, II, p. 396; also Munro, AHR 11 (1906), p. 240 and Rousset, Les Origines, p. 61.
- 143 Cf. in the sermon by the Bishop of Oporto to the Crusaders before Lisbon, Osbernus, De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi, p. cli.
- 144 Cf. above, St. Bernard's propaganda, pp. 315 ff.
- 145 RHC IV, 594 B; cf. RHC IV, 323 B; 331 C; 348 D; 372 C; 385 D; 551 A; etc. Albert also saw God's vengeance to strike the Christians in the form of defeat because of their sins, cf. RHC IV, 570 D f.
- 146 Gesta Francorum, p. 17 (II, viii); cf. also pp. 54 (IX, xxii) and 96 (X, xxxix); etc.; Pope Pascal II, MPL 163,42 C; Otto of Freising, Chronik, pp. 506,30-507,5 (VII, 5); Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 457, MPL 182,651 C.
- 147 Otfrid von Weissenburg, Evangelienbuch I, i, 59 f., 85 ff., in Kleines Althochdeutsches Lesebuch, p. 43.
- 148 Cf. above, Chapter 1, pp. 92 ff., also RL 1346 f.; 2931-6; 5807.
- 149 Les Textes de la Chanson de Roland, ed. R. Mortier, Tome X, Le Texte de Konrad, ed. J. Graff. Paris, 1944, p. 137, note 10.
- 150 Also RL 3444 (cf. the analogy with baptism in Kchr. 9395 ff); 3885 f. (cf. Matth. v, 10; Luke vi, 22 f.); 3920; 5749 f.; 7726 f. (cf. Matth. xxii, 14); also the image of the footstool in RL 5813 f., associates the Christian with the chosen people of Israel (cf. Ps. cx, 1; Matth. xxii, 44; Mark xii, 36; Luke xx, 43; Acts ii, 35; I Corinth. xv, 25 ff.; Hebr. i, 13); Roland is also chosen as a warrior of

God: RL 5175-8 (cf. Eph. ii, 20); and Karl as vicarius Dei is also one of God's elect: RL 57; 7003-6; etc.

- 151 Cf. Nöther, Die Geistlichen Grundgedanken, pp. 101 f., and Roth. 3932-40.
- 152 Cf. Or. 1625; 1650 f.; 1669-73; 1730 f.; 1827-30; 2752-9; etc.
- 153 Cf. Wh. 230,22-231,1; 246,13 f.; 304,2-9; 319,24-7; 332,5-7; 364,11-13.
- 154 Cf. Wh. 41,23-5; 67,12 f.; 103,17-19; 224,8 f.; 228,29-229,2; 301,17-30; 334,24; 413,9-11; 437,1-8; etc.
- 155 Cf. the heathen words in Kchr. 14966; God's vengeance on Julius in Kchr. 10936 f., and on Dietrich in Kchr. 14167-71; the Bavarian vengeance on the heathen Hun in Kchr. 15705 and God's condemnation of the heathen in Kchr. 15943-9; the Emperor as the executor of God's vengeance in Kchr. 16134; 16354 f.; etc.
- 156 Cf. RL 5811-14 and Ps. cx, 1; also Karl's threat to take vengeance on any treachery of Marsilie: RL 1523, etc.
- 157 Cf. RL 6991-9; 8434 f.; 8818-20; Karl's desire for vengeance on Genelun is a combination of imperial and divine vengeance for treachery and personal vengeance for the death of Roland and the 12 Peers: RL 8779-81; etc. This vengeance is awaited by Roland and his companions: RL 6040-4; 6363-5; 6749 f.; etc. The motif of personal vengeance is also present in Roth. 4268-70.
- 158 Cf. RL 6591; 6678; 7780; 7786; 7956 f.; 8579-83; 8587; etc.
- 159 Cf. RL 348; 4094; 4582-5; 7439-42; 7756 f.; 8157; 8428-30; etc.
- 160 Cf. Matth. xxvii, 51 ff.; Luke xxiii, 45 f.
- 161 Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 63 f.
- 162 Cf. Wh. 55,26 f.; 79,28-80,1; etc.
- 163 Cf. Wh. 236,29 f.; 240,2 f.; 298,30; 301,1-16; 334,12 f.; 355,19-22; 380,10-13; 381,2-5; 396,26 f.; 408,24-7; 411,30-412,1; 418,24-7; 450,10 f.; etc. Even Rennewart is included in this vengeance: Wh. 413,25; 444,22 f.; cf. the rôle of Rennewart as God's avenger, below, Chapter 6, pp. 481 ff.
- 164 Cf. Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, p. 64; cf. also below, Chapter 6.
- 165 Cf. L 76,28 f.; 79,6; etc.
- 166 Cf. Friedrich von Hausen, MF 53,35-8.

## Chapter 5: The Reward for the Crusader

Our analysis in preceding chapters of those elements of crusading thought inherited from institutions and social norms in essence older than the First Crusade and of those characteristics which constituted the developing figure of the crusading miles Christi has, to a certain degree, already necessitated reference to the rewards offered the Crusader for the fulfilment of his crusading vow. The imperial knight attained to heavenly reward in the event of his death by virtue of allegiance to his imperial overlord, who alone was responsible for the justness of the cause; the crusading knight won feudal beneficium or solt by virtue of direct allegiance to his feudal overlord Christ, into whose service he entered on taking the crusading vow; the view of the Holy Land as God's heritage to be regained by the Crusader and the equation of the earthly and heavenly Jerusalem was reminiscent of pilgrimage ideology; the crusading indulgence granted by the Papacy was also rooted in the penitential nature of the journey to the Holy Land characteristic of the pilgrimage, and this remission of earthly penance for sins, which rapidly came to be seen as forgiveness of the sins themselves, was dependent on the Crusader's humble spirit and desire to repent; crusading propaganda called upon the Christian knight to imitate Christ's sacrifice for mankind, so that killing God's enemies in battle meant the destruction of evil in the knight's own soul and a purification of his whole being resulting in acceptance into heaven on his death.

While reference to these appropriate sections will be

made in due course, the present chapter illustrates the various MHG representations of the rewards offered to knights in the context of their battles against heathen forces. Comparisons with the Church's traditional view until later Crusades defines the extent to which MHG poets adhered to the Church's representation of the rewards awaiting the Crusader, and the extent to which the rewards awaiting their crusading characters were presented on both a spiritual and a secular plane, in an attempt to reconcile both heavenly and material remuneration. In this respect, MHG poets at times see the crusading reward to be a theological issue which has no connection with feudal or imperial ties, and at times echo more of the popular spirit attached to the crusading idea which the chronicles of the various campaigns illustrated.

2. The Church is known to have promised those who protected Christendom a reward in heaven well before the First Crusade, but these early forerunners of crusading indulgences differed considerably from the tradition which developed from the beginnings with Urban II. In contrast to later crusading indulgences, these early Church promises were issued as statements of God's magnanimity; the promise of heavenly reward did not at first come from the authority of the Pope but direct from God. Such heavenly reward was promised to those who lost their lives in the protection of Christendom, and the knight's military deeds against the heathen while alive did not as yet represent good works counting towards his soul's salvation in the event of his later death. Such promises of heavenly reward were also

not made in an attempt to encourage knights to battle, but merely to remove any suggestion of spiritual detriment for those who undertook such campaigns. Similarly, there was as yet no question of an individual cathartic process for the eradication of the knight's sinfulness, nor of a responsibility by the knight to repay Christ's sacrifice for mankind.

Pope Leo IV's promise of heavenly reward to the Frankish army in 853<sup>1</sup> remained a vague intimation of what awaited those falling in battle. Pope Leo also built a Church to the honour of St. Michael over the graves of those who had fallen in battle against the heathen<sup>2</sup>, and St. Michael, in Church mythology the protector of God's honour, was understood to have cast Lucifer and his followers out of heaven. For St. Augustine, the Christian dead were destined to take the place of the fallen angels in the heavenly choir - a common theme in later crusading sources and in the vernacular literature of the Crusades. Pope John VIII's reply to a query by Frankish bishops concerning those Christians falling in battle while still under Church penance<sup>3</sup>, echoed the certainty of heavenly reward (... requies eos aeternae vitae suscipiet ...<sup>4</sup>) and released them from earthly penance *ex post facto* on the authority of St. Peter, because they had already received this heavenly reward. In this sense, Pope John's absolution also differed from later crusading indulgences, the aim of which was to secure heavenly peace for the fallen Crusader<sup>5</sup>. The crusading sermon of Pope Silvester II and the encyclical by Sergius IV, the authenticity of which is extremely suspect<sup>6</sup>, also present the certainty of heavenly reward for those falling in the

battles to protect Christendom<sup>7</sup>:

Quid est quod das, aut cui das? nempe ex multo modicum, et ei qui omne quod habet gratis dedit, nec tam ingratis recepit, et hic eum multiplicat, et in futuro remunerat. Per me benedicit tibi, ut largiendo crescat et peccata relaxet, ut se cum regnando vivas.

The Church's increasing interest in the affairs of the secular knight in the centuries preceding the First Crusade led to the compilation of various Church encouragements for those taking part in such bella sacra, and an early Epistola consolatoria ad pergentes in bellum presented the certainty of earthly honour and praise on the warrior's survival, and of heavenly reward in the event of his death<sup>8</sup>:

Scitis, quia ibi corpus suum et animum propter Deum tradiderit, absque dubio aut hic in praesenti saeculo, si vicerit, coronatur, aut ... si pro Deo animam suam tradiderit aut corpus suum usque ad mortem, sciat se sine dubio lucrum facere anime sue et remunerationem de labore suo in aeternam vitam apud Dominum recipere et in paradiso cum ceteris haeredibus requiescere.

This consolatory letter also reminded the warrior of the importance of confession before entering battle<sup>9</sup>. Such early promises of heavenly reward by the Church were restricted to those losing their lives in battle to protect Christendom, and the absolution of Church penance was a mere formality for those who had already been accepted into heaven and had had the spiritual punishment for their sins already absolved by God.

The development of absolution during the 11th Century was a dual one. The promise of heavenly reward remained an important part of the Church's pronouncements, as Pope Leo IX's description of those warriors who fell at the battle of Civita demonstrates<sup>10</sup>. But at the same time as Pope Leo promised communion with the holy martyrs, he also used the



promise of absolution for earthly penance of sin as a means of recruiting papal forces for a campaign against the Christian Normans in Southern Italy<sup>11</sup>. In this way, the promise of release from earthly punishment for sin came to be applied to living warriors before they entered battle<sup>12</sup>, and in this particular case to those combatting Christian enemies of the Church, a situation which created an important precedent for later papal policy. Such uses of the promise of absolution to recruit papal forces and the promise of heavenly reward for those who fell in battle remained rare among papal pronouncements of support for campaigns against the heathen before the First Crusade. Alexander II promised absolution of Church penance for those fighting the Moors in Spain, but these forces already intended to depart for Spain and did not first have to be recruited<sup>13</sup>. Gregory VII's plans for an expedition to the Orient promised heavenly reward for those who might fall in such an enterprise<sup>14</sup>:

Nam per momentaneum laborem aeternam potestis  
acquirere mercedem.

Otherwise Gregory was averse to committing himself to absolution of penance either as a means of recruiting troops or for those falling in battle<sup>15</sup>, in spite of his interest in the secular warrior.

Urban II's appeal to the French knights at Clermont combined the penitential nature of the pilgrimage with the developing absolution of penance<sup>16</sup>. Not only did he promise the remission of temporal penance to living Crusaders, but he also intended this promise as a means to recruit the crusading army, and he regarded the trials of the journey to the Holy Land as a replacement for imposing penance<sup>17</sup>.

Urban's use of remissio peccatorum for the more accurate remissio poenitentiae in his letter to the people of Flanders, and the popularity of his appeal at Clermont, encouraged belief in the transcendental effects of this indulgence<sup>18</sup> - a belief which dominated later crusading propaganda and formed a second major development in the rite of absolution. His emphasis of the penitential nature of the undertaking and of the importance of confession for the Crusader, and the provision he made for spiritual guidance en route by the appointment of the Bishop of Le Puy as his legate, ensured that the remission of Church penance and the soul's salvation should not be endangered by sins committed on the journey. The repetition of penance and confession during the journey to the Holy Land, a feature not present in older Church forms of penance, enabled the Crusader to enjoy God's protection in his encounters with the heathen forces<sup>20</sup>:

... in Deo confidentes, et de omnibus iniquitatibus nostris confessi ... ad portas exivimus; ... Sed nobis multis bellis contra eorum calliditates et ingenia edoctis ita gratia Dei et misericordia subvenit ... et ... dextera Dei nobiscum dimicante, (sc. illos) fugere ... compulimus.

This development in the rite of absolution characterised the Church's promises of spiritual reward for the Crusader in later Crusades. The older rite of absolution had been the Church's fulfilment of a logical act in view of God's acceptance of the fallen Christian warrior into heaven; temporal punishment for sin had been remitted for the dead and later for the living. During the 12th Century, the Pope as successor to St. Peter and as spiritual head of Christendom remitted not only temporal punishment for sin but also the transcendental punishment which God had

imposed<sup>21</sup>. The first steps in this process were made, as we have seen, with Urban II: "Gott war bei dieser Aufhebung nicht bloß äußerlich als Auktor oder mitwirkendes Subjekt, sondern auch innerlich als Ziel der Bußstrafen, als die durch diese zu versöhnende Instanz beteiligt."<sup>22</sup> Pope Eugene III and St. Bernard, in their pronouncements concerning the spiritual benefits for the Second Crusade, presented the transcendental effects of absolution. Eugene's bull Quantum praedecessores referred to the precedent set by Urban II, and granted absolution of the transcendental punishment for sin on the authority invested in the Pope by God and St. Peter<sup>23</sup>. Bernard's preaching of the Crusade laid special emphasis on individual salvation, and he saw the transcendental absolution to be effective at the moment of taking the crusading vow and adopting the sign of the Cross<sup>24</sup>:

Suscipite signum crucis, et omnium, de quibus corde contrito confessionem feceritis, plenam indulgentiam delictorum hanc vobis summus pontifex offert, vicarius ejus cui dictum est: Quodcunque solveris super terra, erit solutum et in coelo.

The further development of the rite of absolution until the papacy of Innocent III, when the formulation of the crusading absolution obtained a comparatively definitive form, was confused; subsequent popes either emphasised the transcendental value of the remission of sins offered to the Crusader, or restricted themselves to the remission of temporal punishment for sin during the Crusader's participation in a particular campaign<sup>25</sup>. Innocent III saw participation in the Crusade as the duty of every Christian to his heavenly liege lord<sup>26</sup>, and he promised the Crusader both the heavenly fief and the transcendental remission of

punishment for sin, although the formulation of this promise in the 4th Lateran Council, which became the basis for all subsequent papal absolutions, was by no means as precise as the earlier spiritualised view of participation in the Crusade<sup>27</sup>:

Nos igitur omnipotentis Dei misericordia, et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli autoritate confisi, ex illa, quam nobis ... Deus ligandi atque solvendi contulit, potestate, omnibus qui laborem propriis personis subierint et expensis, plenam suorum peccaminum ... veniam indulgemus, et in retributione justorum salutis aeternae pollicemur augmentum.

Whereas papal pronouncements on the transcendental nature of the crusading absolution were thus not consistent until the 4th Lateran Council, the more popular representation of the crusading idea found in the chronicles adopted almost immediately the transcendental view of the plenary indulgence as the reward open to the Crusader<sup>28</sup>. Early chroniclers and papal commentators emphasised the heavenly reward awaiting the Crusader in the event of his death as the most popular element in recruiting propaganda. Albert of Aachen had the Bishop of le Puy promise a place in heaven for those falling in battle<sup>29</sup>:

... ammonet socios ... ne dubitent mori pro ejus amore ..., certi quia cum Domino Deo Sabaoth, quem hodie hic mori contigerit, coelos possidebit.

and William of Malmesbury presented the trials and tribulations of the journey as the Crusader's passport to the kingdom of God<sup>30</sup>:

"... 'Angusta est via quae ducit ad vitam.' Esto ergo ut sit semita itinerantium arcta, plena mortibus, suspecta periculis; sed haec eadem vos amissam ducet ad patriam; per multas nimirum tribulationes oportet vos introire in regnum Dei."

Above all, the fallen Crusaders were regarded as martyrs to be received into Paradise without transcendental

punishment for sin, as long as they had been steadfast in their faith<sup>31</sup>:

Deus vero ... recepit eos intra septa semper virentis  
Paradisi ...

Martyrdom was a redemptive reward rather than involving the heavenly task of succouring living comrades-in-arms or the passive suffering of pain in the name of the Christian faith, as was the traditional view of the heavenly martyrs<sup>32</sup>:

... procul dubio inter martyres Christi in aula coeli  
noveris esse eos computatos, ascriptos et feliciter  
coronatos, ...

This martyrdom was a heavenly reward to be longed for<sup>33</sup>, and was represented as receiving the martyr's raiment or crown<sup>34</sup>:

Feceruntque in illa die martyrizati ex nostris  
militibus seu peditibus plus quam mille, qui ut  
credimus in caelum ascenderunt, et candidati stolam  
martyrii receperunt.

The accounts of later campaigns also emphasised the heavenly reward awaiting the Crusader. Hugo and Gerard Munio represented the expedition against the heathen as a redemptive task<sup>35</sup>:

... hanc expeditionem tantam et tam salubrem pro  
suae animae remedio et salute ...

John Casa-Marius adopted the Augustinian view that the fallen Crusaders would take the place of those angels cast out of heaven<sup>36</sup>:

... dicebantque multitudinem angelorum qui ceciderant,  
de illis qui ibi mortui sunt, esse restauratam.

In accordance with the expansion of the crusading idea beyond the Holy Land, which the spiritualisation of the crusading idea did a lot to further, the heavenly reward of the crown of justice was also promised those propagating

the Christian faith by combatting the Estonians on the borders of the Empire<sup>37</sup>, and Gregory VIII promised the heavenly Jerusalem, which we have seen to develop as a motif out of the ideology of the pilgrimage, to be attained by good works and material effort<sup>38</sup>. Martin of Pairis promised eternal reward for those taking the sign of the Cross, intimating that the moment of grace imparted by absolution took place on the individual Crusader's decision to undertake the mission<sup>39</sup>:

Si autem quaeritis quid a Deo certi stipendii pro tanto labore sperare debeatis, certissime vobis polliceor quia quisquis signum crucis acceperit, ... ab omni prorsus mundabitur peccato, et quocunque loco, vel tempore, seu casu praesentem reliquerit vitam, aeternam accipiet.

For Innocent III, material service by the servants of God would be repaid by heavenly riches unimaginable on this earth<sup>40</sup>:

Negabit etiam servus Domino divitias temporales, cum dominus servo divitias largiatur aeternas, quas nec oculis vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascenderunt?

The promise of heavenly reward for both fallen and living Crusader occupied a central position in official papal propaganda and in the chronicling of crusading events, and the vernacular literature of the Crusades lays equal stress on the importance of spiritual rewards awaiting the miles Christi in return for military service of God. We have already seen the use of MHG lôn and solt in both secular and religious context for material and religious service of the earthly and heavenly liege lord<sup>41</sup>. Similarly, the ideology of the pilgrimage presented MHG poets with the motif of heavenly Jerusalem and the erbe or heavenly inheritance gained by virtue of a penitent and self-sacrificing

imitatio Christi<sup>42</sup>. Vernacular poets refer to the transcendental awards open to the Christian in four other main ways: the true Christian obtains a seat in heaven or attains to the kingdom of God or Paradise or receives God's grace there; the essence of this spiritual reward is its eternal quality, for the Christian is allowed to see God and to live eternally with him; the value of this heavenly reward is that it offers the redemption of his soul in return for the sacrifice of the body, and angels accompany the soul's flight from earth to heaven; the fallen Christian is rewarded by the crown and raiment of a blessed martyr, a state to be longed for on earth in which the soul joins the fellowship of other martyrs in heaven and intercedes on behalf of other Christians on earth. In this sense, MHG poets represent the traditional heavenly reward gained by the old miles Christi, the just spiritual return for a Christian life spent in adherence to God's will and in constant obedience to him; the Kaiserchronik presents the seat in heaven open to the Christian martyr or to those leading their lives in a spirit of asceticism in God's name. Sixtus promises Laurentius a reward unimaginable on this earth in return for martyrdom<sup>43</sup>:

'sô lônnet dir unser hêrre	<u>Kchr.</u> 6229
mit sô manicfalten êren,	6230
die flaisclîchiu ougen	
niemer mähnten gescowen,	
noh mennicken ôren	
niemer megen gehôren.'	

and he in his turn promises Hypolitus a place in the heavenly kingdom for such a sacrifice:

'ich sage dir waerlîche:	<u>Kchr.</u> 6341
mit grôzer marter besizzest dû daz	
himelrîche.'	

At the same time, however, this reward is represented by MHG poets in terms of a location, as a seat in heaven, the kingdom of God, or Paradise, or as a place in which to receive God's grace both in the context of an imperial holy war and in a crusading context. Konrad's Rolandslied relates how Karl attained to the kingdom of God by reason of his mission to subdue the heathen<sup>44</sup>, and his achievements in Spain have won him God's grace (RL 3209). The attainment of this heavenly kingdom and of God's grace is the aim of every true Christian warrior<sup>45</sup>:

daz ist daz himilriche, RL 987  
de ist uns allen gemeinliche  
uf gestechet ze eineme zile:

and this heavenly kingdom is regarded as the rightful due for all those who have taken the Cross as a miles Christi:

si uachten nach dem gotes riche, RL 5960  
daz in dar umbe gehaizen was.  
wa gescach imen ze dirre werlt ie baz?

Bishop Turpin's analogy of the true soldier of Christ and the dove returning to Noah's ark with the olive twig is reminiscent of the Christian knight returning to his heritage<sup>46</sup>:

uns nahet daz gotes riche RL 994  
uolgen wir nicht deme swarzen raben. 995  
die muzen die site haben,  
da mane ich uch alle bi:  
nemit daz grüne oele zwi  
mit den turteltubin.

Konrad also wishes this same heavenly grace for his patron Heinrich<sup>47</sup> on the basis of the good works rendered by him in converting the heathen (RL 9026-30; 9071-5). But apart from the mere promise of this transcendental reward for the Christian warriors entering battle against the heathen, those who have fallen in battle are clearly seen to enter directly into God's kingdom<sup>48</sup>:



di. urouwent sich iemir da zehimele. RL 4588

The Christian warriors in Willehalm are offered the similar opportunity of purchasing their heavenly seat by payment of their earthly military due to God:

nû wart der heidschaft bekant, Wh. 16,22  
daz koemen die getouften,  
die stuol ze himele kouften.

Wolfram represents four of Willehalm's supporters as having gained both earthly reputation and a place in Paradise by their efforts to protect Gyburg:

die viere heten hie den prîs Wh. 14,27  
und sint nû dort in dem pardîs.  
ei Gîburc, sûeze wîp,  
mit schaden erarnet wart dîn lîp. 14,30

Even the imperial army can gain heavenly grace after being persuaded to return to the field of battle by Rennewart (Wh. 331,24-8). In Orendel, the reward of God's kingdom is granted in return for loyal service of the earthly monarch in a situation more closely associated with the Brautgewinnungsmotiv (Or. 722-5), and also promised to Bride and Orendel for obedience to God's ordained mission of protecting the Holy Sepulchre:

"so wil ich uch bede nemeliche Or. 1943  
furen in daz frone himelriche."

Arnalt's words in König Rother illustrate that trust in God is the prerequisite for winning this seat in heaven:

Lazzit it an minen trechtin. Roth. 4060  
Vnde haelfit im uromicliche.  
Ir uirdinet daz himilriche.

In Graf Rudolf, the papal legate in the tradition of crusading historiography promises this place in the heavenly kingdom to all those undertaking to free the Holy Sepulchre from heathen domination:

diez wol getun mugen GR  $\beta$  26  
unde ouch ze vehtene tugen

alle geliche  
arme unde riche  
daz sie ane rue  
daz himelriche buen.

GR β 28

30

Even in Herzog Ernst, although Ernst and Wetzlar's main motives for combatting the crane-people are not essentially in a crusading context but rather vengeance for the death of the Indian princess, personal reputation and self-defence (HE 3480 f.; 3598-3601; 3726-30; etc.), and although their strange opponents only become expressis verbis heathen at the moment of pitched battle (HE 3752 ff.), the Christian warriors buy a place in heaven in return for sacrificing their lives in battle:

hie sul wir daz himelriche  
koufen mit dem lebene.  
ez hât nieman vergebene  
die himelischen âre.  
da gebrist ouch nimmer mære  
freude diu niht zegât  
und ouch nimmer ende hât:  
daz sul wir dienen hiute.

HE 3744  
3745

3750

One of the main characteristics of the crusading lyric is an appeal to the poet's fellow-knights to take the Cross, and as in Church propaganda the presentation of heavenly reward is of paramount interest. Heinrich von Rugge presents the heavenly reward for those following his appeal to the Crusade as an immense profit:

daz wirt iu ein vil grôz gewin.

MF 96,5

and, in words reminiscent of the image of the prudens mercator common in the propaganda of St. Bernard, offers the knight the opportunity of purchasing redemption:

Swer in nu koufet an der zît,  
daz ist ein saelekeit,  
sît got sô sûezen market gît.

MF 97,20

Rugge sees the heavenly reward which the fallen Crusaders have gained with Frederick Barbarossa as a seat in heaven open to all pilgrim-Crusaders and including salvation:

Daz wir geniezen müezen sîn, MF 97,13  
 des er gedienet hât  
 und ander manec bilgerîn, 97,15  
 der dinc vil schône stât.  
 der sêle sint vor gote schîn,  
 der niemer si verlât:  
 der selbe sedel ist uns allen veile.

- a salvation full of joy in which all the tribulations of this world are forgotten (MF 97,23-6). He emphasises the contrast between the grace of this heavenly seat and the emptiness of Hell's damnation for those refusing to seize this opportunity of redemption<sup>49</sup>:

Diu helle diust ein bitter hol, MF 99,8  
 daz himelrîche gnâden vol  
 nu volgent mir: 99,10  
 sô werbent ir  
 daz man iuch dar beleite.

By patient service, the Crusader can gain his seat in the heavenly kingdom:

nû hellent hin gelîche L 77,36  
 dâ wir daz himelrîche  
 erwerben sicherlîche  
 bî dulteclicher zer.

and Walther prays to God to rescue the Crusader in the hour of his death from the torments of Hell:

Got, dîne helfe uns sende, L 78,4  
 mit dîner zesewen hende 78,5  
 bewar uns an dem ende,  
 sô uns der geist verlât,  
 vor helleheizen wallen,  
 daz wir dar in iht vallen.

In the same way, MHG poets stress the eternal nature of the heavenly reward in marked contrast to the temporal and fleeting nature of worldly joys<sup>50</sup>. Konrad's introduction to his Rolandslied presents the eternal reward that Karl has gained for his divine mission against the heathen:

nu hat in got gehalten RL 28  
 in sineme rîche,  
 da wont er imir ewichliche. 30

The fallen knights have sacrificed their lives for God's

sake and now enjoy eternal life in heaven (RL 235 f.).

Their reward even entails seeing God face to face<sup>51</sup>:

uol stet ir an deme geloubin,                      RL 3925  
mit ulaisclichen ougin  
scult ir sin antlutze gesehen  
unt iemir mit im urolichen leben.

and they can therefore justly be called the children of  
God and no longer children of this world:

unt alle di hi belegen sint                      RL 7008  
dine haizent nicht der werlte kint,  
sunter sune des oberisten herren.                      7010

For this reason, exaggerated grief at their death is un-  
seemly; the fallen Crusaders intercede in heaven for those  
still on earth, and grief should be retained for the sin-  
ners of this world:

"daz uerbietiu, herre, min trechtin,"              RL 8646  
...  
"daz ist der min geloube,  
want si durh daz rechte sint gelegen,  
daz sie uor gote iemir leben.                      8650  
nu hort ich dich, herre, sagen:  
die rechten scol man nicht chlagen  
(ir tot ist geware),  
sunē offen suntare,  
di totliche ersterben.                      8656  
dise heiligin sculen uns gotes hulde  
erweruen."

Wolfram also presents the Christian knights in Willehalm  
as fighting for eternal rewards (Wh. 19,28 f.) in marked  
contrast to the material rewards for which the heathen  
forces are fighting (Wh. 19,18-27). Only the fallen Chris-  
tian knights in the first battle are gotes unverzagetiu  
hantgetât (Wh. 166,21), in contrast to the more sympathet-  
ic attitude shown to the heathen in Gyburg's later  
speeches and in the reaction of the Christian forces to  
the heathen in the second battle<sup>52</sup>. Wolfram's comment on  
Willehalm's reaction when he returns to Orange at the  
head of the new Christian army emphasises the earthly

suffering as the passport to heavenly reward and eternal life for the Christian knight:

... al sîn heilekeit                      Wh. 226,4  
möhte im siuften hân erworben:                      226,5

and this salvation is open to each individual member of this Christian army<sup>53</sup>:

... "swem got der saelden gan,                      Wh. 320,26  
daz er mit strîtes urteil  
um daz endelôse heil  
noch hiute wirbet, wol dem wart  
sîner her komenden vart."                      320,30

In a similar context, Albrecht von Johansdorf sees the physical discomfort which the Crusader may suffer for a short time to be out of all proportion when compared with the eternal death which he avoids:

lîdet eine wîle willeclîchen nôt                      MF 94,21  
vür den iemermêre wernden tôt.

The development of the crusading indulgence and the increasing spiritualisation of the crusading idea highlighted the transcendental benefit to the Crusader's soul, and MHG poets are equally interested in this redemptive spirit in crusading situations. Early Church theology saw the benefit for the individual Christian's soul to accrue from his life as a passive miles Christi and from a Christian life led according to one's ordo. Traditionally, Church dogma regarded the salvation by martyrdom to be gained only in passive submission to death in the name of the Christian faith<sup>54</sup>. Thus, on the threatened destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian and Titus during the attempts by Tiberius to avenge Christ's Crucifixion, Josephus in the Kaiserchronik reminds the Jews of the salvation awaiting them should they be martyred by the heathen Romans:

marterent uns die haiden,                      Kchr. 982  
ode brennent si uns hier inne,

sô haben wir doh gedinge Kchr. 984  
daz wir ze jungest ernern unser sêle. 985

Laurentius is equally certain of the immortality of his soul on being threatened with martyrdom by Decius:

dem flaiske maht dû wol tarn, Kchr. 6299  
der sêle nemaht dû vurnamens niht  
gescaden, 6300  
diu scol wider zu ir scepfaere.

and Charlemagne, despite his position as vicarius Christi, is concerned with the salvation of his soul which he considers endangered by sin:

... "wol dû got hêre! Kchr. 14925  
nu genâde mir an der armen sêle!  
den lîp scaide von der werlte,"

In the accounts of crusading activity, however, the salvation of the individual Crusader's soul depends on his activity in the Holy Land. The poet of the Kaiserchronik eulogises Godfrey of Bouillon and points to the salvation he has gained by military service of God and by recapturing Jerusalem (Kchr. 16785; 16789). The martyrs in Edessa before the Second Crusade also gain salvation as God rescues the Christians' souls from the machinations of the Devil:

der christen marter wart grôz, Kchr. 17262  
...  
den tievel genau sît der rât, 17267  
want er liuzel dar an gewan.  
mîn trehtîn die sêle zuo sich genam.

In Konrad's Rolandslid, the 12 Peers are imperial vassals owing special allegiance to Karl, but at the same time their aim is to sacrifice the body in order to gain salvation<sup>55</sup>:

den lîp furten si ueile RL 78  
durch willin der sele.  
sine gerten nichtis mere 80  
wan durh got irsterbin,  
daz himelriche mit der martire irwerben.

Physical strength is only a means to one end: the victory of the soul and its transport to heaven<sup>56</sup>:

diu ir sterche des libes  
gert in des wiges. RL 4865  
daz der gaist gesigete,  
hin ze himele si digeten.

This salvation entails rebirth and a purity akin to baptism, experiencing heavenly joy and communion with the angels:

"wir werden hiute geboren RL 5264  
zu der ewigen wunne: 5265  
hiute werden wir der engel kunne,  
hiute sculen wir frolichen uaren,  
hiute werden wir liutere wester parn;  
hiute ist unser froude tac,  
want sich sin frouwen mac 5270  
elliu die heilige cristinhait;"

and the angels transport the souls to communion with the blessed martyrs:

di engel di sele hin schieden, RL 6765  
si furten den ir lieben  
zu der marterer chore,  
zu dem oberisten trone.  
unser herre enphinc in wol da;  
er sprach: "procede et regna!" 6770

so that Turpin promises Roland communion with the martyr St. Laurentius<sup>57</sup>:

"huite wirstu sente Laurentien genoz, RL 6189  
den di haiden uf dem roste pranten." 6190

This does not, however, preclude the very necessary Christian burial and prayers by the living for those who fell in battle (RL 6045-52)<sup>58</sup>.

In Willehalm, Willehalm's soul has been freed from the torments of Hell by virtue of his imitatio Christi and his active defeat of sin in combatting the heathen (Wh. 2,28-3,2; 4,16 f.). Wolfram presents the first battle as one fought for the love of Gyburg but at the same time in its redemptive aspect, for those sacrificing their lives in

aid of Willehalm are accompanied to their seat in heaven by angels<sup>59</sup>:

ûf erde ein vlüsteclicher tac	Wh. 14,8
und himels niuwe sunderglast	
erscheine, dô manec werder gast	14,10
mit engeln in den himel vlouc.	
ir saelekeit si wê nec trouc.	

Those losing their lives in this world are gaining the soul's peace in the next<sup>60</sup>:

des lîbes tât, der sêle vride	Wh. 32,6
erwurben Franzoisaere dâ.	

Vivianz's salvation is guaranteed before his death by the protection of the angel Cherubim during battle<sup>61</sup>:

der junge helt vor gote erkant	Wh. 49,1
reit gein dem wazzer Larkant,	
niht der sêle veige,	
reit nâch der engel zeige.	

and Gyburg's declaration of faith and her trust in the magnanimity of God reveal the same certainty of salvation in return for suffering in this world (Wh. 216,24-9).

The redemptive nature of battle against the heathen is equally present in the Spielmannsdichtung. Orendel is promised salvation by the three archangels Gabriel, Raphael and Michael in the event of his death in battle, and this is an additional motive for his entering battle<sup>62</sup>:

und wirstu under uns erslagen,	Or. 1418
so wil got in dem himel din sele haben:	
du salt frolichen striden	1420
in disen ... ziden.	

On the completion of his divine mission and the second freeing of Jerusalem from heathen control, the souls of Orendel, Bride, Ise and Achille are accompanied to their ordained place in heaven by these angels:

die engel von dem himel quament,	Or. 3930
die vier sele sie do namen	
und furten sie nemelich	
zu gode in sin frone himelrich.	



In exactly the same way, King Oswald promises salvation to all those losing their lives on his expedition and sees the battle as a process of purification from sin (MOsw. 1543-50; 2849-54). The poet closes his poem by the angels' transporting the souls of King Oswald and his wife to their appointed place in heaven:

dô quam von himele ein englischiu schar      MOsw. 3538  
unde nâmen dâ der sêlen war  
unde empfiengen an der stunde      3540  
die sêlen von deme munde  
unde vuorten si wirdicliche  
vûr got in daz êwige himelrîche.

In König Rother, the redemptive nature of battle is likewise promised to his Christian followers by Arnalt when intending to free Rother from the heathen Ymelot:

Swer hie hute wirt ir sclagin.      Roth. 4065  
Des sele sal genade hauen.  
Die heiden sulwir slan.

but in Salman und Morolf, the argument of the angels receiving the Christian soul and transporting it to heaven is used as a ruse by Salmân to warn the Christian army and summon them to his aid<sup>63</sup>:

Daz sol mîn urkunde sîn,      SuM 495,1  
daz sant Michel enphâe die sêle mîn.  
ez vernimet die engelische diet,  
sie nement mîner sêle war  
und lânt sie verderben niet.      495,5

In the crusading lyric the opportunity to gain salvation by taking the Cross is also at the centre of those poems exhorting fellow-knights to the Crusade. Even when the poet represents himself as a Crusader faced with the decision to choose between love of his lady and love for God, this redemptive nature has general validity, as the poet may personalise the situation facing the knight confronted with crusading propaganda. Albrecht von Johansdorf consoles his lady that loss of his life while freeing the

Holy Sepulchre will entail his soul's ascending to its allotted place in heaven:

swer dâ bestrûchet, der mac wol  
besnaben: MF 87,25  
dâne mac niemen gevallen ze sêre:  
daz mein ich sô, daz den sêlen behage,  
sô si mit schalle ze himele kêren.

and he encourages his fellow-knights to sacrifice the body to God so that the soul may enjoy eternal life (MF 94,23 f.).

Johansdorf also has his lady wish that God, in whose name he has sacrificed the body, will take care of his soul:

swenne si gedenket stille an sîne nôt. MF 95,12  
"lebt mîn herzeliep, od ist er tôt"  
sprichet si, "sô müeze sîn der pflegen  
durch den er sûezer lîp sich dirre werlde  
hât bewegen." 95,15

For Hartmann von Aue the rejection of the joys of earthly Minne, and the process of turning away from this world in favour of the joys of the next, induce him to concentrate his whole being on the opportunity for salvation which the Crusade offers:

und schüefe ich nû der sêle heil, MF 210,29  
daz waere ein sin. 210,30

Walther von der Vogelweide also sees the Crusade as a chance to gain salvation and to turn away from the uncertainties presented by the world in which he lives:

sîn kriuze vil gehêret L 77,28  
hât maneges heil gemêret.  
swer sich von zwîvel kêret, 77,30  
der hât den geist bewart.

In an echo of the spirit of memento mori, he maintains that the opportunity to gain this heavenly reward must be grasped by the Crusader (L 77,32 ff.).

Of equal importance for the MHG poet in his depiction of heavenly reward is the motif of martyrdom, which, in a manner similar to crusading historiography<sup>64</sup>, is a reward

won actively rather than the passive acceptance of death and the gaining of the martyr's crown which is the essence of martyrdom presented in the Kaiserchronik<sup>65</sup>. In the Rolandslied, Karl promises the royal crown of martyrdom for those falling in battle during his divine mission:

frolichen ir uor im stat. RL 100  
swer durch got irstirbit,  
ich sage iu waz er da mit irwirbit:  
eine künincliche chrone  
in der martererere chore;

Konrad directly associates martyrdom with salvation in the Christian army's preparations for battle:

ze dem tode si sich garten, RL 3408  
unt waren idoch gute chnechte,  
zu der marter gerechte, 3410  
der sele zewegene.

They are ready for martyrdom because they have made the appropriate religious preparations for battle, and have banished all worldly thoughts in their efforts to attain redemption. They therefore rejoice at the approach of battle as the opportunity to gain heavenly reward<sup>66</sup>, and while rejoicing prepare themselves for the martyr's crown as a reward for death in the name of faith since Creation<sup>67</sup>:

si ilten ze dem trone RL 5760  
da in got mit wolte gelten,  
dem uon angenge der werlte  
den heiligen martereren gehaizen was.  
si haizent diu prinnenten liecht uaz.

The heavenly host of the martyrs also rejoices at this imitatio Christi (RL 5792-5), and the names of the fallen Christians will be inscribed in the scroll of eternal life:

ich wil inoch an dich gedinge, RL 6513  
alle di hi zeden haiden sint beliben,  
daz ir name werde gescriben 6515  
an des ewigen libes buche.

Martyrdom of these Christian warriors is also of direct

value for the survivors in the battle against the heathen. Konrad presents the burial of these saintly martyrs as an honour accorded the living by God:

di biscofe wolten zesamene komen	RL 7582
unt ander gelerten:	
wie wol si got geerte	
di da mit waren,	7585
daz si di heiligen biuilde sahen!	
si bestatten si alsus	
cu mirra et aromatibus.	

and their holiness is proclaimed by the supernatural signs at their death and at their burial<sup>68</sup>. For the living knight, the holy martyrs form the connection between heavenly reward and life in this world; they intercede with God to free his earthly servants from worldly ties so that by true repentance before death the knight may attain to heavenly reward and to communion with the holy martyrs<sup>69</sup>:

"si sint unser bruche	RL 3948
zu dem gotes riche,	
swer si suchet innecliche	3950
umbe dehaine sine not.	
nu heluen si uns umbe got	
uon dirre werltlichen brode,	
swa unser herce ode	
in dehainem zwiuel buwē,	3955
daz wir in samelichen ruwen	
an unseren iungisten stunden	
in rechtin buzen werden funden,	
unt si unsich zegotes hulden bringen:	
daz sculen wir an si gedingen."	3960

In Willehalm, the motif of martyrdom as heavenly reward and purification of all evil within the Crusader's soul is directly associated with the figure of Vivianz<sup>70</sup>. Despite Wolfram's lament for Vivianz at the beginning of his poem (Wh. 13.25 ff.), this lament changes to rejoicing shortly before his death. Vivianz has sacrificed his body for the sake of mankind in direct imitation of Christ to gain salvation<sup>71</sup>:

wie Vivianz der lobes rich	Wh. 48,10
sich selbe verkoufte um unsern segen	

und wie sîn hant isttôt belegen,                      Wh. 48,12  
diu den gelouben werte,  
unz er sîn verh verzerte.

mich jâmert durch die saelde mîn                      48,28  
und vreu mich doch, wie er erstarp,  
der sêle werdekeit erwarp.                      48,30

and Wolfram praises this sacrifice as an example to the rest of Christian knighthood (Wh. 49,12-14). Characteristic of the medieval Reliquienglauben is the presentation of Vivianz's wounds as smelling sweetly during battle and on his death<sup>72</sup>:

als pigment und âmer                      Wh. 62,16  
dîn sûeze wunden smeckent,

rehte als lignâlôê                      69,12  
al die boume mit viure waeren enzunt,  
solh wart der smac sâ ze stunt,  
dâ sich lîp und sêle schiet.                      69,15  
sîn hinvart alsus geriet.

Before his death, Vivianz receives the sacrament from Willehalm in a state of purity resulting from his martyr's death, convinced that his unschuldeclîch vergiht (Wh. 68, 18) will allow him direct acceptance into heaven, in the same way as the biblical malefactor Dismas who was crucified with Christ and to whom Christ said<sup>73</sup>:

"Amen, dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in Paradiso."

Vivianz's death remains part of the motivation for the second battle<sup>74</sup>, and his martyrdom is representative for the fate of the whole Christian army in the first battle<sup>75</sup>.

The essence of martyrdom is seen in the miraculous interment in marble sarcophagi<sup>76</sup>:

"ir kirchhof ist gesegent wîte,                      Wh. 259,6  
von den engeln wîhe emphanen.  
sus ist ez dâ ergangen:  
ir heilec verh und iriu bein,  
in manegem schoenen sarkestein,                      259,10  
die nie geworhten menschen hant,  
man die getouften alle vant."

Martyrdom and the purity of the Christian warriors falling

in both battles benefit all Christendom, and Willehalm gains both earthly fame and heavenly reward for his deeds in these battles:

Alischanz muoz immer saelec sîn,	Wh. 420,6
sît ez sô manec bluot begôz,	
daz ûz ir reinem verhe vlôz,	
die vor gote sint genesen.	
nû mûeze wir teilnûnftec wesen	420,10
ir marter und ir heilekeit!	
wol im, der dâ sô gestreit,	
daz sîn sêle sigenunft emphienc!	
saelecliche ez dem ergienc.	
hurtâ, wie der markis	420,15
den beiden leben warp dâ prîs,	
dises kurzen lebens lobe	
und dem, daz uns hôch ist obe!	

Wolfram even extends the idea of the martyred Christian taking their place in the tenth choir of angels to the whole of mankind in Gyburg's Toleranzrede before the second battle<sup>77</sup>. Gyburg maintains that it was the duty of mankind to make up the tenth choir of angels which became vacant on the fall of Lucifer and his followers, but that mankind had first to be redeemed from sinfulness by Christ's sacrifice on the Cross: "Die Auffüllung des zehnten Chors ist die heilsgeschichtliche Aufgabe der Menschen. Durch den Sündenfall sind sie jedoch unfähig geworden, diese Aufgabe zu erfüllen. Deswegen mußten sie durch Christus erlöst werden."<sup>78</sup> Gyburg's demand for tolerance is based on her premise that the angels with Lucifer fell of their own free will, while mankind - including the heathen - has been tempted to sinfulness, and that through Christ's redemption of mankind both Christian and heathen have regained their rôle in the divine plan. Hartmann von Aue also presents the taking of the Cross as offering the Crusader the opportunity to gain his place in this same choir of martyred Christians:

got helfe uns dar,  
hin in den zehenden kôr,  
dar ûz en hellemôr  
sîn valsche verstôzen hât,  
und noch den guoten offen stât.

MF 211,3

211,5

MHG poets of crusading literature present the heavenly reward available to the Christian warrior in the traditional manner of crusading historiography, and in the battles against the heathen the redemptive quality of their conflict occupies a central rôle in their depiction. Heavenly reward in its various forms, representing God's magnanimity and the opportunity for a Christian knight to take his place in the Heilsgeschichte, is in essence the same heavenly reward as that open to the passive miles Christi, to the monk combatting evil in his own soul by an ascetic and virtuous existence of prayer, and to the feudal knight leading a Christian existence within the demands of his ordo. However, the secular knight was in danger of prejudicing his salvation by preoccupation with the secular demands of his profession, and the Crusade presented him with the opportunity of actively achieving the heavenly bliss of martyrdom by placing his arms at the disposal of the divine mission to combat the heathen forces in the Holy Land. In MHG crusading literature, the Christian knight who fell in battle was assured of a heavenly reward for his earthly efforts.

3. Crusading propaganda placed heavenly reward at the centre of its exhortations and crusading historiography laid most emphasis on the spiritual benefits earned by those Christian combatting the heathen in the Holy Land. This was in agreement with the religio-political aims of

the medieval Church, where the salvation of the individual Christian's soul and the consolidation and expansion of the earthly kingdom of God were at stake. Nevertheless, the particular relationship between the Crusader and God after taking the crusading vow was intended to set him free from all worldly ties in favour of his allegiance to Christ. In addition to the spiritual benefits for the redemption of the Crusader's soul, the Church therefore propounded worldly privileges for the benefit of the Crusader and his family<sup>79</sup>, and with the development of the crusading idea found itself increasingly having to come to terms with a material motivation by crusading armies. The stipulations of the Council of Clermont placed the Crusader and his possessions under the peace of God from the moment of his vow<sup>80</sup>:

... et quicumque ibit per nomen penitentiae, tam ipse quam res eius semper sint in treuga domini.

and Pope Pascal II commanded that all personal property should be handed back to the Crusader after his return from the Holy Land<sup>81</sup>:

porro fratribus, qui post perpetrata diuinitus uictoriam reuertuntur, iubemus sua omnia restitui, sicut a beatae memoriae Urbano praedecessore nostro reminiscimini synodali definitione sancitum.

In this way, formulations of worldly privileges for the Crusader rapidly became a traditional part of the Church's propaganda alongside spiritual privileges, and at the Fourth Lateran Council Innocent III drew the strands of this tradition together in the list of temporal privileges contained in Consitutio 71<sup>82</sup>. Crusaders were to be immune from taxes or tallages (a collectis, vel a taliis) and were placed under the direct protection of the Church, so



that their goods might be returned to them after the fulfilment of their crusading vow. Ecclesiastical censure awaited those presuming to the contrary. The Crusaders were also released from the obligation to redeem usurious contracts either to Christian or to Jew<sup>83</sup>. Such extensive temporal privileges accounted for the continuing popularity of the crusading idea, but also contributed to the debasing of the Crusade as a religious undertaking, for the penitential, self-sacrificing character of the expedition was gradually overshadowed by a desire for financial profit and material benefits<sup>84</sup>. William of Tyre was one of the first to point out the material motivation of some of those who took the Cross<sup>85</sup>:

*Nec tamen apud omnes erat in causa Dominus, et virtutem mater discretio votum excitabat; sed quidam ne amicos desererent, quidam ne desides haberentur, quidam sola levitatis causa, aut ut creditores suos ... declinantes eluderent, aliis se adjungebant.*

Official Church propaganda rejected all material remuneration for the Crusader apart from the temporal privileges issued with the spiritual indulgence. Thus the Church condemned looting<sup>86</sup>:

*"Sed quoniam armati venistis, eja! ut boni milites agite, quia non est peccatum militare, sed propter praedam peccatum est militare."*

and rejected all concern with worldly reputation and riches<sup>87</sup>:

*... nolite ad lucrum vel gloriam temporalem attendere ...*  
Nevertheless, crusading chronicles emphasised the booty won by crusading armies on their journey to Jerusalem, and the leaders of the First Crusade even described to Urban II the booty they had captured at Nicaea<sup>88</sup>:

*... eorumque uxores et filios ac familias cum auro et argento et omnibus eorum possessionibus retinuimus.*

Albert of Aachen maintained that booty was not merely the consequence of battle but one of the reasons for attacking the Turks (... ad capiendas praedas ...<sup>89</sup>). Later crusading propaganda also pointed out the lucrative nature of the territories which could be annexed by the Crusader after the campaigns in Palestine<sup>90</sup>, and the provision of material reward was at times coupled with the more traditional spiritual advantages to be gained by participation in the Crusades<sup>91</sup>.

Vernacular poets also do not completely ignore the material rewards available to the crusading knight, despite their emphasis on the spiritual advantages for the individual knight. Konrad's Rolandslied illustrates an attitude towards booty in battle akin to that of crusading chronicles<sup>92</sup>, although this is overshadowed by the rejection of earthly values and the desire for eternal reward characteristic of Konrad's view of redemptive chivalry. Roland expressly allows looting after the heathen have been completely vanquished:

unt habet daz urlöp,  
swer morgen ze dirre zit lebe,  
daz er im selbe neme  
swaz im hie geualle.

RL 4206

In the Kaiserchronik, the description of the First Crusade echoes the chronicles of this campaign by its dispassionate account of the looting by the Christian army at Antioch:

die cristen dā vorne  
nāmen sō getānen roup,  
daz diu rede netouc  
niemen ze sagene.

Kchr. 16749  
16750

In the second, more specifically Christian part of König Rother, Arnalt's words to the Christian knights about to rescue Rother emphasise the heavenly reward for those

falling in battle and the personal, material reward that they are bound to receive from Rother for their support:

Vns sint gebotin zvei lon	<u>Roth.</u> 4119
Wi mugin iz deste gerner ton.	4120
Daz ist sichirliche.	
Daz schone himelriche.	
Swe hie ligit. tot.	
Des sele wirt geledigot.	
In daz wunnichliche leven.	4125
Waz mochte daz bezzeris sin gegeuin.	
Dar ander ist also getan.	
Generder den getruwin man.	
Er vorit vch insin lant.	
Vnde behalt vnsich alle samt.	4130

In keeping with the spirit of self-sacrifice and renunciation of worldly considerations characteristic of his expedition to the Holy Land<sup>93</sup>, Orendel warns of the physical dangers and discomforts of such a journey which should not be viewed lightly despite the material inducement of golden spurs granted those participating:

"nu wol dar, ir stolzen helde!	<u>Or.</u> 315
ir enkoufent nit die heizen helle	
umb daz golt so schone und rot:	
wan ich sagen uch, ir muzent liden not."	

Even Hartmann von Aue does not completely exclude the possibility of temporal reward alongside the promise of heavenly bliss for those taking the Cross (MF 209,27 f.).

Wolfram's Willehalm also presents an instance of what was common practice in crusading reality: the Christian leaders strive to capture booty in order to release hostages held by the heathen forces<sup>94</sup>:

daz wir von den heiden solhiu phant	<u>Wh.</u> 299,1
gewinnen, diu Berhtrames bant	
ûz prisûne sliezen.	

In Parzival, Gahmuret presents the horses he has won in a tournament to a group of knights who have taken the Cross and are thus forbidden to take part in such secular activities. It might be maintained that Gahmuret thus gains for

himself a portion of absolution without undertaking the restrictive obligations necessary of a Crusader<sup>95</sup>:

swaz dâ gekriuzter ritter reit,	<u>Parz.</u> 72,13
die genuzzen sheldes arbeit:	
diu gewonnen ors diu gaber in:	72,15
an im lag ir grôz gewin.	

In addition to these examples of the material rewards available to Christian knights in battle against the heathen, which are far and away outweighed by the traditional presentation of spiritual rewards, especially Willehalm illustrates the influence of the social norms of courtly society on knightly activity even in a crusading context. Whereas crusading propaganda and historiography had stressed the sublime quality of divine love and the duty of every Christian to manifest his own love for Christ by neglecting all ties of earthly affection, the role of temporal Minne, both in the sense of marital love between Willehalm and Gyburg and also in the sense of a warrior's Minnedienst, retains its full validity in Wolfram's poem alongside the spiritual demands on the crusading miles Christi<sup>96</sup>. The battles between Christian and heathen are in the first instance a result of the love between Willehalm and Gyburg (Wh. 30,21-8), although the religious motivation, later to be augmented by the religio-political motivation of world domination, is clearly present in her mention of baptism. Gyburg later admits her two-fold "guilt" for the battles: her love for God and the grace shown to her by her baptism, and her love for Willehalm:

ich trage al eine die schulde	<u>Wh.</u> 310,17
durch des hoesten gotes hulde,	
ein teil ouch durch den markis.	

The two motifs of baptism and her love for Willehalm are inextricably connected (Wh. 215,16-25). The Christian

knights are also fighting for religious reasons and for the sake of Gyburg<sup>97</sup>:

si wolden Terramêres goten	Wh. 185,28
niuwiu maere bringen	
und Gîburge helfen dingen	185,30

In the same way, Vivianz is the ideal Christian warrior whose martyrdom and purity on his death are representative for the Christian army at large<sup>98</sup>. Nevertheless, Vivianz is also a Minneritter who had been raised to knighthood under the special attention of Gyburg<sup>99</sup>:

als ein vogel sîn vogelîn	Wh. 62,26
ammet unde brüetet,	
als hete si dich behüetet,	
almeistec an ir arme erzogen.	

and Wolfram's own lament for Vivianz is couched fully in terms of the Minneritter he could have become for the ladies of the French court (Wh. 64,5-17). Willehalm is in the first instance also seen as a Minneritter fighting for the sake of Gyburg, his süeze âmie<sup>100</sup>. Not only does he gain the two-fold reward of fame in this world and eternal life in the next (Wh. 420,15-18), but his Kreuzrede in the first battle also presents the various reasons for fighting the heathen and the rewards awaiting his followers for their service:

der markîs ellens rîche	Wh. 16,25
mante unverzagetliche	
ir manheit sîn geslehte	
durch got und durch daz rehte	
und ir werlîchen sinne	
durch der zweier slahte minne,	16,30
ûf erde hie durch der wîbe lôn	17,1
und ze himele durch der engel dôn.	

In this mixture of spiritual and worldly reward lies the essence of the promised remuneration in Wolfram's poem. The Christian armies fight in expectation of both the earthly reward of their ladies' favours and the heavenly reward

of salvation, as well as for a personal family obligation to Willehalm<sup>101</sup>:

swaz junge und alde dâ mohten sîn                      Wh. 381,20  
durch got und durch der wîbe lôn  
und durch des sun von Narbôn,

Wolfram in fact praises the edifying effects hohe Minne exerts on both heathen and Christian knight, and which are, in Wolfram's view, reconcilable with the demands on the crusading knight<sup>102</sup>:

des wîbes herze treget der man:                      Wh. 83,10  
sô gebent diu wîp den hôhen muot.  
swaz iemen werdekeit getuot,  
in ir handen stêt diu sal.  
wert minne ist hôch an prüevens zal.

4. The rewards awaiting the Christian knight for his service of God against the heathen in the vernacular literature of the Crusades are of central importance for the crusading idea as presented by MHG poets. In accordance with the tradition anchored in the crusading indulgence, and above all in the popular interpretation of the transcendental value of absolution, Christian knights are convinced of the redemptive nature of their actions for their own soul and of the spiritual rewards awaiting them on the event of their death in battle. Vernacular literature was nevertheless intended for a predominantly knightly audience, and the demands of Minne required reconciliation with the religious demands of the Crusade. Whereas the majority of crusading lyric poets adhered to a more traditional view of the superior value of love for God, which entailed a conscious rejection of the rewards of Frauenminne, Wolfram succeeded in combining the demands of Minne with the religio-political demands of Willehalm's task to

protect the boundaries of the Christian faith. In addition, the more material rewards of riches and booty, a fact of life in all medieval warfare, are also reflected at times by vernacular poets. The more secular side to the knight's profession could thus also not be completely subdued by the Church's crusading propaganda in the context of the reward offered to the knight.

It remains in Part III of our study to analyse the attitude by MHG poets towards the enemies of Christendom against whom the redemptive battles were fought in Christ's name. Our analysis of crusading concepts must turn itself towards the extent to which a religion based on the principle of love, which recruited members of the chivalric warrior classes to fulfil its aims with the sword, retained either in its historiography or in poetic representations of crusading activity any vestiges of a conciliatory attitude towards its enemies. Precisely here, the effects of the crusading idea on vernacular poets can be felt most strongly, in so far as stereotype attitudes of a negative kind exist alongside attempts at a more objective representation in the light of cultural and trading exchanges which existed between East and West over and above crusading campaigns.

Footnotes to Chapter 5

- <sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Chapter 1, p. 78, note 74; Villey, La Croisade, p. 29; Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, pp. 18 ff.
- <sup>2</sup> For the following, cf. Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, pp. 20 f.
- <sup>3</sup> Cf. above, Chapter 1, note 74; Rousset, Les Origines, p. 44.
- <sup>4</sup> MPL 126,816 C.
- <sup>5</sup> Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, p. 27.
- <sup>6</sup> Cf. ibid., p. 29; Riant, Archives de l'Orient latin, I, pp. 40 ff.; Röhrich, Geschichte des 1. Kreuzzuges, pp. 8, note 8, and 9, note 3; Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 102 ff.; etc.
- <sup>7</sup> MPL 139,208 C; cf. also M. J. Lair, "Encyclique de Sergius IV, relative à un projet de croisade(vers 1010)", Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes 18 (1857), p. 251.
- <sup>8</sup> Ed. W. Schmitz, in NA 15 (1890), pp. 606 f.; cf. Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, pp. 29 ff.; also the examples of benedictions in Franz, Die kirchlichen Benediktionen, II, pp. 300 ff.
- <sup>9</sup> Cf. Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, p. 31, note 1.
- <sup>10</sup> Vita Leonis papae, quoted in ibid., p. 42, note 4; see also above Chapter 2, note 68; Rousset, Les Origines, p. 47; Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 111.
- <sup>11</sup> Cf. Amatus of Monte-Cassino, Ystoire de li Normant; see also above, Chapter 2, note 68; Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, p. 43; Rousset, Les Origines, p. 46; Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 111.
- <sup>12</sup> Rousset, Les Origines, p. 46.
- <sup>13</sup> Cf. ibid., p. 50; Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, p. 45; Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 125 ff.
- <sup>14</sup> MPL 148,390 D; also quoted in Rousset, Les Origines, p. 53. Cf. II Corinth. iv, 17.
- <sup>15</sup> Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, pp. 54 ff.; Rousset, Les Origines, p. 53.
- <sup>16</sup> Cf. above, Chapter 3, pp. 279 ff.; also Villey, La Croisade, pp. 141 ff.
- <sup>17</sup> Cf. the second Canon of the Council of Clermont, Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio, XX, 816 E; Rousset, Les Origines, p. 55; Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, p. 71.
- <sup>18</sup> See above, Chapter 3, pp. 281 ff. and note 180.



- 19 Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, p. 87.
- 20 Letter of the leaders of the First Crusade to Urban II, describing the fall of Antioch, MPL 151,553 D - 554 B.
- 21 Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, p. 91.
- 22 Ibid., p. 93.
- 23 Cf. Boček, Codex Diplomaticus Moraviae, I, p. 243; Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, p. 107; Rousset, Les Origines, p. 66.
- 24 Ep. 458, MPL 182,653 C; cf. Matth. xvi, 19; Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, pp. 111 f., note 2; see above, Chapter 4, pp. 314 ff.; also Ep. 363, MPL 182,567 A.
- 25 Alexander III restricted the Church's absolution to the earthly punishment for sin and presented the heavenly reward as a distant promise in return for the trials of the journey: cf. MPL 200,601 C and 1296 B; Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, pp. 118 ff. Both Gregory VIII and Celestine III promised both heavenly reward and the transcendental remission of sins: cf. MPL 202,1542 C; Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, pp. 129 ff.
- 26 Cf. above, Chapter 2, pp. 176 f.
- 27 Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio, XXII, 1067 B f.; cf. Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, pp. 137 f.; Cramer, Palästinahefte 17-20 (1939), p. 98.
- 28 Cf. above, Chapter 3, pp. 279 ff.
- 29 RHC IV, 382 B f.; cf. also 381 C and Romans xiv, 8; 415 E f.; 492 E f. Albert saw the reward for service of Christ as a spiritual one in which the Crusader did not die, but lived on with Christ: cf. RHC IV, 402 A f.; 508 B f.; 552 D f.; etc.; also Urban II's promise of eternal life for the rebuilding of the Church at Tarragona: MPL 151,303 C f.
- 30 De Gestis Regum Anglorum, II, p. 396; Matth. vii, 14 and Acts xiv, 21. Baldric of Dol saw heavenly reward to be achieved also by those who died en route in analogy to the parable of the vineyard; RHC IV, 15 B and Matth. xx, 1-6; the moment of grace presented by absolution would be on rendering the crusading vow, irrespective of the result of the campaign. Fulcher of Chartres emphasised the eternal rewards available on the Crusade as opposed to the more material rewards to be gained in the feudal battles among rival nations or factions: RHC III, 324 D f. Robert the Monk saw the souls of the fallen Crusaders to be transported directly to Heaven: RHC III, 735 B f.
- 31 Robert the Monk, RHC III, 734 C f.; cf. also 748 A and Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 492 F; etc.
- 32 The words supposedly told to an Italian monk by St. Ambrose of Milan, quoted by a Lombard monk to raise the spirits in Albert of Aachen's account of the famine at Antioch, RHC IV, 416 B.

- 33 Cf. Gesta Francorum, p. 65 (IX, xxvii).
- 34 Ibid., p. 40 (VII, xviii); cf. also pp. 4 (I, ii) and 85 (X, xxxv); RHC IV, 138 E (cf. Rousset, Les Origines, p. 62); 288 C; 320 B; 399 B; 566 E; De Gestis Regum Anglorum, II, p. 396; Otto of Freising, Chronik, p. 510, 15 f. (VII, 7).
- 35 Historia Compostellana, Liber II, Cap. LXXVIII, MPL 170, 1135 D; cf. also 1134 D - 1135 A; De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem, p. 130.
- 36 MPL 182,591 A.
- 37 Cf. Alexander III, MPL 200,861 A; also Celestine III promised the transcendental remission of sins for those combatting the Moors in Spain: Ep. 200, Kehr, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, NF 22 (1928), p. 555.
- 38 MPL 202,1541 A.
- 39 MPL 212,228 A f.
- 40 MPL 214,310 A f.
- 41 Cf. above, Chapter 2, pp. 162 and 167 f. and notes 136, 160 and 163.
- 42 Cf. above, Chapter 3, pp. 268 ff.
- 43 Cf. Kehr. 8554-9; Dietrich also gains a place in heaven in return for renouncing his earthly crown, Kehr. 12803-5.
- 44 RL 10 ff.; cf. Richter, Kommentar, I, p. 21.
- 45 Cf. RL 184-9; 908-10; 1065-9; 3257-64; 3424 f.; 3905-8; 3983; 4719-22; 5614-18; 5787-91; 8294-7; etc. For further references, see Zastrau, Das deutsche Rolandslied als nationales Problem, p. 72; cf. also Matth. xxv, 34; Acts xx, 32; xxvi, 18; Hebr. ix, 15.
- 46 Cf. Bartsch's edition, pp. 43 f.; Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 221 ff.
- 47 The identity of Konrad's patron and the dating of the poem have long been a subject for debate; cf. among others, P. Wapneswki, "Der Epilog und die Datierung des deutschen Rolandsliedes", Euph. 49 (1955), pp. 261-82; D. Kartschoke, Die Datierung des Rolandsliedes, Stuttgart, 1965; C. Gel-linek, "The Epilogue of Konrad's Rolandslied: Commission and Dating", MLN 83 (1968), pp. 390-405; the arguments of F. Urbanek, "The Rolandslied by Pfaffe Conrad - Some Chronological Aspects as to its Historical and Literary Background", Euph. 65 (1971), pp. 219-44, go a long way to re-establishing the claim of Henry the Lion to be Konrad's patron and a date of c. 1172 for the completion of the poem.
- 48 Cf. RL 228-32; 3449; 4656-8; etc.

- 49 Cf. Albrecht von Johansdorf, MF 94,15-17; Walther von der Vogelweide, L 77, 6 f.
- 50 Cf. above, Chapter 4, pp. 327 ff.
- 51 Cf. RL 5130-3; 5824-8; 7683-7; 7728-33.
- 52 See below, Chapter 6.
- 53 Cf. Wh. 322,4-7; 405,20-5; 435,1-3, 10-15; 450,8 f.; etc.
- 54 Cf. K. Rahner, "Martyrium, II. Theologisch", Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, VII, Freiburg, 1962, p. 136.
- 55 Cf. RL 190 f.; 3251; 3408; 4719-22; etc.
- 56 Cf. RL 5816-23; 6034-7; 6359-62; 6517 f.; 6909 f.; 6918 f.; 7555-7, 7724 f.; 8317-20; etc.
- 57 Nöther, Die geistlichen Grundgedanken, pp. 74 f.; cf. also RL 4942-6; 6899 f.; 6920-3; etc.
- 58 In the same way Konrad asks his audience to pray for the soul of his patron Heinrich, RL 9087-94.
- 59 Cf. Kartschoke's edition, note 14,8 ff., p. 274; cf. Wh. 447,10; etc.
- 60 Cf. Wh. 37,29-38,1; 48,28-30; 101,5-7; 264,20-2; 344,28-30; 380,14-19; 450,28-30; 451,2-10; etc.
- 61 Cf. Wh. 49,10 f.
- 62 Cf. Or. 1710-12.
- 63 Cf. Sum 506,1 ff.; see also the ironic use of other crusading motifs above, Chapter 3, pp. 248 f. and 274 f.
- 64 Cf. above, note 32.
- 65 Cf. Kchr. 4255-7; 6188-92; 6206; 6405-16; 6583-5; 16130-2; etc.
- 66 RL 3905; cf. Kchr. 14735 f.
- 67 Cf. for RL 5764, Backes, Bibel und Ars Praedicandi, p. 129; cf. also RL 5772-4.
- 68 Cf. RL 6521 f.; 6924-49 and the typological depiction of Roland's embalming, RL 7594-7.
- 69 Cf. RL 3426-8; 7498-7501; 7598-7600; 8656; 8668-72 and Matth. v, 10.
- 70 Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 23 ff.; Mergell, Wolfram und seine französischen Quellen, I, pp. 33 f.
- 71 Cf. Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 24 f.
- 72 Ibid., pp. 25 f.; cf. Kartschoke's edition, p. 281, note 62, 11 ff.

- 73 Luke, xxiii, 43.
- 74 See above, Chapter 4, pp. 353 f.
- 75 Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 31 f.; cf. Wh. 380,14-19.
- 76 Cf. Wh. 357,16-30; 386,6 f.; 394,20-2; 437,20-2; cf. also the same motif in Kchr. 14904-8.
- 77 Wh. 308,1-30. Cf. the reference to the 9 choirs of angels in Wh. 230,27 f. Kartschoke (note 230,28, pp. 294 f.) points to the origin of the 9 choirs in Col. 1, 16, and to the formulation of the celestial hierarchy in Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, Gregory the Great, Isidor and Dante. The 9 choirs in descending order of proximity to the God-head (the exact order is in doubt) were Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Powers, Virtues, Arch-angels, Angels. For the 10th Choir see P. Salmon, "Der zehnte Engelchor in deutschen Dichtungen und Predigten des Mittelalters", Euph. 57 (1963), pp. 321-33.
- 78 Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, p. 167.
- 79 Cf. Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, pp. 140 ff.; Villey, La Croisade, pp. 151 ff.
- 80 Quoted in Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, p. 142, note 1.
- 81 Epistulae, ed. Hagenmeyer, p. 175, no. XIX, 4; cf. also Eugene III, who placed all the Crusader's property and family under papal protection: Boček, Codex Diplomaticus Moraviae, I, p. 242.
- 82 Cf. Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio, XXII, 1058 E ff.
- 83 Cf. Gottlob, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß, pp. 157 ff.
- 84 Ibid., pp. 160 ff.; cf. Waas, Geschichte, I, pp. 389 ff.
- 85 RHC I, i, 43.
- 86 Osbernus, De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi, p. clii.
- 87 Gregory VIII, MPL 202,1541 D.
- 88 MPL 151,553 B; cf. also 552 D - 553 A; Gesta Francorum, pp. 79 f. (X, xxxiii); RHC IV, 397 A; etc.
- 89 RHC IV, 446 B; cf. Gesta Francorum, pp. 3 (I, iii); 32 (VI, xiv); 43 (VIII, xix), etc. Albert also justified the taking of booty by the need to keep up the strength of the army: RHC IV, 450 D f. The chroniclers of the First Crusade saw the provision of booty as afforded by God's grace: Gesta Francorum, pp. 19 f. (III, ix); 28 (V, xii); Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 497 D; Robert the Monk, RHC III, 764 A f. God himself allowed the Christians to plunder after victory: Gesta Francorum, pp. 94 f. (X, xxxix).

- 90 Cf. above, Chapter 2, p. 162, note 123; also Röhricht, ZfK 6 (1884), p. 560; Cramer, Palästinahefte 17-20 (1939), p. 101.
- 91 Cf. Gesta Francorum, p. 92 (X, xxxviii); Hugo and Gerard Munio, Historia Compostellana, Liber II, Cap. LXXVIII, MPL 170, 1135 C; Martin of Pairis, MPL 212, 228 B.
- 92 Cf. above, Chapter 2, pp. 165 ff., and notes 147-9.
- 93 Cf. above, Chapter 3, pp. 273 ff.
- 94 Cf. Wh. 458, 24-459, 3.
- 95 Cf. Jackson, ZfdA 101 (1972), pp. 109 f.
- 96 Cf. the compromise made between Frauenminne and Gottesminne by Albrecht von Johansdorf, above, Chapter 4, pp. 332 f.
- 97 Cf. Wh. 306, 1; etc.
- 98 Cf. above, pp. 391 ff.; Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 23 ff.
- 99 Cf. Wh. 24, 13-15; 64, 1-4; 66, 13-17; 101, 27-9; even the Empress laments his death in terms of a Minneritter, Wh. 164, 28-165, 1; etc.
- 100 Wh. 39, 12 ff.; cf. Wh. 3, 4-7; 39, 21-3; 51, 20-2; 95, 11-13; 96, 4 f.; 110, 17 f.; 162, 10-12, 17-30; 214, 8-11; 369, 6-9; his love for Gyburg forbids him to fight against her heathen son, Wh. 74, 26-75, 2. Even in heathen eyes, Willehalm is a Minneritter, Wh. 86, 24-7; 87, 10 f.; 346, 10-13; etc.
- 101 Cf. Wh. 400, 1-7; also the references to Christian Minneritter 29, 4-6; 329, 16-18; 385, 13-17; 409, 12; 456, 9-18; Rennewart, too, is seen in the same terms as the Christian Minneritter: Wh. 285, 16-18; 431, 18-20; cf. also Gahmuret in Parz. 23, 7-9; 46, 24; 56, 2; etc.
- 102 Cf. Wh. 6, 2; similarly his play on words with the image of herze in Wh. 109, 8-15 is worthy of the Minnesang, cf. the use of this image by Friedrich von Hausen, Ingebrand, Interpretationen, pp. 9 ff.

Part III: Concepts in MHG literature associated with the  
Crusade in part transcending the spirit of  
crusading propaganda

Chapter 6: The negative and the positive portrayal of the  
heathen knight

The Christian religion, which is based on the principles of love and charity, has not only had to come to terms throughout its growth with the converse concepts of war and violence, but has also had to adapt its relationship towards those people who refuse to accept its teachings. Though originally a missionary doctrine concerned to convert non-Christians by peaceful means, and although its early representatives were prepared to accept passively the use of force and violence against them in attempts to make them renounce their beliefs, by the time of the early Middle Ages adherence to Christianity had taken on a political dimension and allegiance to the Christian state and belief in Christianity were inextricably combined. The Emperor, as political head of the imperium christianum, was also leader of God's kingdom on earth, the civitas Dei, and, in the early stages of the spread of Christianity in Europe, military subjugation of territory was a pre-condition for missionary activity and conversion.

The Church's attitude towards non-Christian religions and in particular towards Mohammedanism, despite contacts arising from the pilgrimages to the Holy Land, was characterised by a general ignorance of the beliefs of Islam and by a rigid antagonism against such beliefs and those adhering to them. This ignorance and antagonism coloured the Church's attitude with few exceptions throughout the period of the Crusades, and accounts for the exaggerated condemnation of Moslem beliefs and actions in crusading propaganda. At the same time, as a result of the cultural

and trading exchanges between Western and Moslem chivalry during the Reconquista and in the course of establishing and defending the Frankish territories in Palestine, there arose a more tolerant attitude between the protagonists based on a respect for the deeds of the other side and on a feeling of affinity between the military classes of both sides, although Western chivalry remained inherently more suspicious and inflexible in its attitude. This more tolerant attitude among secular chivalry, which was by no means shared by the Church's theoreticians, makes itself felt in a grudging appreciation of various positive characteristics in the representation of Moslem opponents in vernacular literature. Nevertheless, Moslem knighthood was in Christian eyes still excluded from the possibility of sharing in the heavenly rewards promised to Christian chivalry, by virtue of the fact that they were not baptised and did not adhere to the only true religion. Such recognition of the positive characteristics in Mohammedan opponents restricts itself therefore mainly to praise of their battle prowess and to descriptions of their excellence as Minneritter, and is to be found throughout MHG crusading literature. Moreover, Arab historians of the Crusades show a similar ambiguity towards their Christian enemies, at times condemning them as infidels and at times praising them for their knightly characteristics<sup>1</sup>.

MHG poets present the heathen opponents of their Christian knights predominantly as knights who may or may not have positive characteristics worthy of their praise, but who are nevertheless to be kept separate from Christian knights by virtue of their religion. For this reason, Christian knights in the majority of MHG crusading poems are



concerned with the destruction of the heathen forces or with their conversion. Only in Wolfram von Eschenbach's Parzival and Willehalm - although there are suggestions of this attitude in earlier MHG poems - can we find the indication of a religiously tolerant attitude between representatives of the heathen religion and Christianity, when Gahmuret is buried according to the Christian rite by the bâruc of Baghdad, and when Gyburg's appeal to the Christian nobility before the second battle at Alischanz and Willehalm's treatment of the fallen heathen princes and King Matribleiz at the end of Willehalm reveal a similar attitude on the Christian side. The present chapter, following our method of comparing crusading sources and vernacular works, traces the predominantly negative presentation by MHG poets of the opponents to Christianity and the comparatively few instances of the exemplary heathen knight. In so far as the Christian knights are presented as seeking a spiritual reward for earthly service of God, the concern of the heathen warrior with material considerations may also be regarded as a further negative characteristic over and above the explicitly negative description common in MHG literature. Nevertheless, MHG poets do not consistently condemn all such material considerations on the heathen side when they coincide with appropriate aspects of Western chivalry. A short historical analysis of the relationships between Christianity and Mohammedanism in the Middle Ages serves to place our subsequent linguistic analysis in perspective.

## 2. The relationship between Christianity and non-Christian

religions at the time of the First Crusade must be approached from two sides: on the one hand, this stems from the inflexible theological position of Christian theoreticians with respect to the exclusive truth of their revealed religion; on the other hand, from the personal and political relationships between adherents of the Christian and Moslem faiths in Spain, the Holy Land and on the borders of the Byzantine Empire. The Christian theological standpoint was convinced out of ignorance of the confused mixture of truth and lies which made up the beliefs of its religious adversaries and was merely concerned to debase and ridicule the principles of non-Christian religions. Despite centuries of contact between Christianity and the Moslem religion, both in Spain and on the borders of the Byzantine Empire, in Sicily and in the Holy Land, neither the Roman nor the Eastern Church was able to develop an even moderately objective view of Islam<sup>2</sup>. Most of the Church's attempts to explain the Moslem religion at this time made no pretence at a correct portrayal, but were content to present a distorted picture of Mahomet and to see the Koran as the work of the Devil; in such a way, the Church kindled and long kept alive a spirit of hatred and contempt for Islam and its followers. Attempts to translate and comment on the Koran in the East by Niketas of Byzantium in the 10th Century<sup>3</sup>, and in the West under the auspices of Peter the Venerable in the 12th Century<sup>4</sup>, remained tendentious generalisations in which Mahomet was proclaimed to be a false prophet and the Moslems presented as worshippers of false gods and idols, despite the strong monotheism of Islam<sup>5</sup>. The Moslems were seen to worship Mahomet as a god, and many derogatory

accounts were circulated as to his birth, his upbringing and his death<sup>6</sup>. Such accounts were fostered and exaggerated in the Church's propaganda of the Crusades, and served to heighten the general Christian animosity against Mohammedanism.

These attempts by Christian theologians actively to oppose Moslem beliefs had a great influence on the popular opinion of the secular knighthood, and vestiges of this are reflected in the chronicles of the Crusades, despite the positive experiences made in the Holy Land. In addition, the central position played by the Church in the life of the medieval Christian meant that all those refusing to live within its ordinances were regarded as outcasts, worthy only of rejection and in extreme cases of death. In the philosophy of history of St. Augustine, the medieval Christian as member of the Christian ecclesia existed in this world with the sole obligation of assisting in the realisation of the civitas coelestis. Everything which did not serve the Church and this aim was to be rejected<sup>7</sup>:

Eorum autem, qui non pertinent ad istam civitatem Dei, erit e contrario miseria sempiterna.

The importance of the teaching of St. Augustine, both in his explanation of the holy war<sup>8</sup> and in his representation of the earthly and heavenly kingdoms of God, increased with the movement of Church reform associated with the Abbey of Cluny<sup>9</sup>, and served to intensify the theological animosity against the opponents of Christianity.

Despite this animosity, which caused the Church both in Rome and Constantinople repeatedly to proscribe all forms of contact between Christians and Moslems, relationships between them in the field of trade and cultural and political interchange presented a different picture. The influx of

Christian pilgrims from the West during the period before the First Crusade was a considerable economic factor for the inhabitants of the areas through which these travellers journeyed<sup>10</sup>. An earlier account by a Frankish monk, Bernard the Wise, described the relationship between Moslem and Christian in the Holy Land in much more positive terms than was common among Western Christians<sup>11</sup>:

Christiani et pagani talem pacem inter se positam habent ibi, ut si iter agerem et in itinere mortuus fierit meus camelus aut asinus, qui meam gereret paupertatem, et ibi relinquerem omnia mea sine custode et irem ad civitatem propter alium, ego, cum rediero, omnia mea illaesa inveniam.

Trade with the Moslem world expanded and flourished during the period before the Crusades, and the Italian ports, particularly Bari, Palermo, Naples, Venice, Pisa and Genoa, became centres for trade in Islamic goods<sup>12</sup>. Such contacts continued even during the crusading period, despite the Church's opposition and the growing religious animosity between Christian and Moslem, and both Arab and Western tradesmen were to be found in Baghdad and the Frankish territories during temporary lulls in military campaigns. In this way, religious differences and the animosity of both sides were often disregarded or overcome by non-combatants<sup>13</sup>. Personal contacts between Christian and Moslem knighthood in the battles in the Holy Land served to modify many of the prejudices kindled by the Church's propaganda, and a spirit of reciprocal recognition of bravery and chivalric excellence was engendered on both sides. The more tolerant attitude was, however, inhibited on the Christian side by the continued influx of new combatants from Europe, who were for the most part imbued with the rigid anti-Mohammedanism propagated by the

Western Church, and by the relentless attitude towards the forces of Islam propounded by the military orders. On the other hand, those Crusaders who settled in the Frankish territories adopted many of the customs and conventions of the Moslem natives and were accustomed to entertaining Moslem knights among their friends and advisers. In particular, the superiority of medical care among the Moslems was appreciated by the Franks<sup>14</sup>. Many Frankish nobles incurred the wrath of the Church by attempting to establish permanent peaceful relations with the Moslem nobility, and Richard Coeur-de-Lion is known to have contemplated marrying his sister to Saladin's son. Saladin gained a reputation in the West as a generous and merciful leader, although both he and Richard could be bloodthirsty in their vengeance if the occasion arose<sup>15</sup>. Friendly relations between Christians and Moslems also entailed political alliances, and representatives of both sides were to be found fighting in the same cause; the Frankish nobility was constantly at variance when it came to the division of conquered territory, but was willing to forget religious differences for the sake of personal advantage<sup>16</sup>.

Such relationships, together with the affinity felt between the Christian and Moslem knighthood, fostered instances of reciprocal tolerance for the religious beliefs of the other side alongside expressions of religious fanaticism generated by the spirit of Christian holy war and Moslem Yihād. Although many Christian churches were destroyed during the 12th and 13th Centuries, there were nevertheless areas in which Christians were allowed to continue their religious worship more or less undisturbed by attempts to

convert them to Islam<sup>17</sup>. The Christian Crusaders, generally more influenced by the Church's inflexible attitude towards Islam and at a constant disadvantage in terms of military tactics, dress and living conditions in the East, were more fanatical in their desire to destroy all forms of religious worship differing from the rites of the Roman Church, and this attitude engendered a correspondingly intolerant attitude by the Marmeluks towards their Christian opponents in the mid-13th Century<sup>18</sup>. Nevertheless, there were voices in the Christian camp which questioned the use of force against the heathen. Although the leaders of the First Crusade were predominantly concerned with the extermination of the Moslem opponents as evil<sup>19</sup>, and although the preaching for the Second Crusade and for the campaign against the Wends stressed the idea of compelle intrare, this principle was by no means universally accepted. St. Bernard, in his apology for the failure of the Second Crusade, emphasised the need for a more missionary approach to the conversion of the heathen<sup>20</sup>, and the later Thomas Aquinas was opposed to the whole principle of the Crusade, reserving force for Church reprisals against heretics and apostates<sup>21</sup>. The 13th Century saw the rise of peaceful missionary activity in the Church's relationship with Islam<sup>22</sup>, and the activity of St. Francis of Assisi during the Fifth Crusade<sup>23</sup> and William of Tripoli's report to Pope Gregory X, De Statu Saracenorum<sup>24</sup>, were important instances of this changing attitude. The rise of a missionary approach to the Moslems coincided with the debasement of the papal crusading idea and its application against the Hohenstaufen enemies of the Papacy<sup>25</sup>. At the

same time, a general disillusionment with the crusading idea among both lay population and clergy made itself felt at the constant failures of expeditions to the East, a disillusionment which reached its head with the failure of the expedition by King Louis IX of France, who was generally considered to be a saint and therefore certain of divine aid<sup>26</sup>.

The inflexible attitude towards the Moslems contained in papal crusading propaganda from Urban II to Gregory X, despite the development of the papal crusading idea to include the establishment of the authority of the Roman Church as its main aim, maintained and fostered the negative attitude towards the Moslems which prevailed in the West. In crusading propaganda the references to heathen atrocities, to their godlessness, blasphemy and idolatry, to their arrogance and lack of humility, to the certainty of their souls' damnation and to the necessity of their extermination, all recur with a regularity which renders such references formulaic in papal encyclicals and letters<sup>27</sup>. In crusading chronicles, such formulaic expressions for the opponents of the Crusaders also abound, although the knightly qualities of the Moslems which so appealed to Western chivalry are also to be found. Instances of religious tolerance, of the acceptance of Christians and Moslems as creations of the same God, or positive accounts of the beliefs of Islam, were in contrast very few in Latin sources of the period. The influence of such a negative attitude towards the enemies of the Crusaders on the portrayal of the heathen in MHG crusading literature is predictably considerable, and pejorative expressions are

found even in such works where the crusading atmosphere is subordinated to the theme of Brautwerbung, or where the Oriental environment serves only as a background for the exploits of an adventuring knight.

3. The emphasis of the bulk of crusading propaganda was on the spiritual nature of the task confronting the knight and of the reward awaiting him after the fulfilment of his crusading vow. The crusading knight was required to reject all worldly considerations and in a spirit of self-sacrifice to place his complete self at the disposal of his spiritual liege lord in the divine task of combatting the enemies of God<sup>28</sup>. Consecutive popes and preachers had emphasised the difference between the crusading miles spiritualis, or miles Christi, and the miles saecularis whose interest in the material considerations of worldly fame, external splendour, booty, and riches was destined to lead him to Hell. Those MHG poets who were members of the clergy or otherwise associated with it generally adhered to this form of depicting the Christian knight in their poems, but those MHG poets who belonged to the chivalric classes compromised in their depiction, and the material considerations associated with the position of the knight were presented more sympathetically than the Church's propaganda demanded<sup>29</sup>. It is significant, however, that the Church's propaganda condemned this concern with material considerations more strongly as part of its criticism of the heathen opponents, and MHG poets attribute to their heathen characters a more material view of life and of the conflict with Christian knights, and associate this



with their negative depiction of them.

The narratio of the majority of papal crusading encyclicla included a description of heathen atrocities apparently committed, and of the characteristic habit of looting homes and churches after victory in battle; the accounts in crusading chronicles were equally vivid<sup>30</sup>. Thus the author of the Gesta Francorum emphasised the material booty desired by the heathen forces<sup>31</sup>:

Qui intrantes spoliabant ecclesias et domos et alia omnia, et deducebant equos secum et asinos et mulos, aurum et argentum et ea quae reperire poterant. Adhuc quoque filios Christianorum secum tollebant, et ardebant ac deuastabant omnia conuenientia siue utilia, ...

Ekkehard of Aura described the lives of luxury led by the heathen who still persecuted the Christians in the East<sup>32</sup>:

Cum ergo victores idem nunc armis, ut res poscebat, insudarent, nunc lusibus ac deliciis, utpote a glarea ieiuna in terram maxime fructiferam transplantati, sibimet indulgerent, in illorum servitio quae tormenta, quas cruces, quasve per omnia miserias superstites christicolae paterentur, vix cuilibet inexperto credibile est; ...

Albert of Aachen stressed the heathen desire to gain booty and to increase their personal reputation in battle against the Christians<sup>33</sup>:

Tunc forte quidam christianae professionis illis obviam facti sunt, quos, nimia audacia freti, gentiles praefati persequi, occidere et rebus exspoliare decreverunt, ut sic in gloria et victoria cum spoliis Fidelium ad suos civitates repedarent.

In the Gesta Francorum, Kerboqa wrote to the Sultan and Khalif of Khorasan that the heathen knights should give themselves over to material pleasures<sup>34</sup>:

Satis sint leti et gauisi iocunda concordia, et satisfaciant uentribus, imperent et sermocinent per uniuersam regionem illam, ut omnino dent sese ad petulantiam et luxuriam, multosque filios patrare congaudeant, ...

and in the same letter he swore by his gods that he would

conquer the Christians ad deorum honorem et uestrum, et omnium qui sunt ex genere Turcorum<sup>35</sup>. Associated with this characteristic desire for personal honour, material well-being and riches, Albert of Aachen emphasised the external splendour of the heathen army, in contrast to the poverty of the Christian forces and the demands for such restraint associated later with the preaching of St. Bernard<sup>36</sup>:

... omnes viri fortissimi, et bello cautissimi,  
loricis et galeis et clipeis aureis valde armati,  
signaque plurima mirae pulchritudinis in manibus  
praeferentes.

In this way, the heathen enemies of Christendom were characterised by many of the negative attributes contained in the medieval septenary of man's sinfulness: superbia, avaritia, luxuria, invidia, gula, ira, acedia<sup>37</sup>.

MHG poets also depict the mass of the heathen warriors to be concerned with such material considerations. In the Kaiserchronik, the main motivation for the preparations by Helena's troops, apart from a desire to avenge the christianisation of her son Constantine, is the desire for booty in Roman territory<sup>38</sup>:

si wolten mit roube und mit prande      Kchr. 8470  
in rômiskem lande  
haben ir willen;

In the Rolandslied, Konrad makes use of the material considerations of the heathen forces as a further means of general characterisation alongside explicitly pejorative statements for such enemies of Christendom. In particular, the heathen forces are preoccupied with earthly honour, fame and reputation: at the outset, the heathen Blanscandiz is concerned how heathen honour and the personal honour of Marsilie can be rescued in face of the pending attack by the imperial forces<sup>39</sup>:

wir müzen mit listen  
unser ere uor ime uristin.

RL 507

and the heathen nobles constantly call upon their gods in phrases akin to the formulaic (and ironic) words by Baligan's messengers to the wounded Marsilie (RL 7331 f.; cf. also 3544; 3805; 7949 f.; etc.). Marsilie cannot afford the loss of prestige to the heathen cause if the Christians were to prevail in battle (RL 5443-8), for this would be a stigma affecting every heathen knight long after the campaign was over<sup>40</sup>:

scol er da werden erslagen,  
er sturbe doch da haime,  
unt entrinnet ir dehaine,  
an dem libe unt an den eren  
uberwindet ir iz nimer mere.

RL 5838

5840

For this reason the heathen knights are willing to fight with Baligan in the final stages of the battle and gain the honour associated with a heathen victory, or die in the attempt (RL 8397 f.; cf. also 5705 f.). Baligan aims to make sure that Karl does not gain the battle honours<sup>41</sup>:

"der kaiser nescol alsolhen rum  
hi zuns nit gewinnen."

RL 8376

Olivir emphasises the heathen desire to carry off the honour for deeds done in battle, although with the death of Thibors at Olivir's own hand such honour is rendered useless:

"dune darft dich der eren  
niemir gerumen  
di du uon uns macht gefuren."

RL 5884  
5885

In contrast, the Christian forces fight for the honour of God and of Karl as God's vicegerent on this earth, and in Karl's prayers to God, Konrad reminds all worldly knights that honour in this world is worthless as long as the appropriate spiritual relationship with God is not approached

in a spirit of humility:

daz wizzen die herren, RL 3012  
die nach werltlichen eren  
tagelichen ringēt,  
daz si got dar unter minnent 3015  
unt ir ougen cherent ze gote:  
so chumt in der himilische bote  
unt irloset si uon allen noten,  
suchent si in mit deumute.

Konrad aptly summarises the Christian spiritual motivation and the heathen material motivation in his description of Targis and Anseis:

Targis uacht umbe ere, RL 4719  
Anseis umbe di sele, 4720  
Targis umbe ertriche,  
Anseis umbe daz himilriche.

In addition, the heathen relationship to their superiors is a feudal one based on the material solt given to vassals by the secular liege lord, and this promise of material reward is also a motivation for the heathen warriors in battle<sup>42</sup>:

"ich gibe dirz lop unt die ere RL 3811  
unt lone dir sin iemir mere."

Nevertheless, Konrad contrives to present this heathen feudal relationship in a negative light. Baligan expects his followers to trust in him and to fight for the material reward inherent in their feudal relationship:

Vf spranc der chūnc Paligan, RL 7353  
er sprach: "nune scol sich nimen sparn. 7355  
swer nu baz mege,  
der heue sich zewege!  
mirne gescah nie so liebe."

The followers of Karl also fight for his sake, but in his function as vicarius Dei and leader of the divine mission to convert or destroy the heathen. The followers of Marsilie have sworn to remain on the battlefield under pain of death (RL 6243-8), while the Christian warriors enter battle in a spirit of self-sacrifice. Adalrot's

taunt that Pope Peter cannot aid the Christians in battle (RL 4030 f.) is based on the premise that such aid would be of a material nature, and completely ignores the spiritual nature of the conflict. Falsaron even attempts to bribe Olivir to desert the Christian cause with the promise of material reward:

nu rit du, helt, unter minen uan:	RL 4232
ich hilue dir gerne hinnen,	
wilt du, helt, dingen	
dar zu dem chunige Marsilien:	4235
dune maht iz nicht gewideren.	
behalt lip unt rum.	

but Olivir is full of the spirit of devoted asceticism characteristic of the Christian Crusader<sup>43</sup>. A spirit of renunciation is totally lacking in the heathen forces. Cernubiles presents the rescuing of those heathen captured by the Christians as another motive for joining battle (RL 3782-7), and the heathen are characterised by close ties to their worldly goods and family, otherwise renounced by all Christians except for Genelun and his supporters<sup>44</sup>:

un̄ komit der keiser in di lant,	RL 509
er nimt iz allez ensamt,	510
er nimt uns den lib,	
beide kint un̄ wib	
un̄ aller unser ere.	

The heathen are even willing to sacrifice their children to retain their worldly goods<sup>45</sup>. Konrad's use of erbe in association with the heathen forces betrays this worldliness. For the Christian forces, erbe is the Christian inheritance of heavenly reward to be gained by sacrificial battle in God's name; for the heathen forces, erbe refers purely to the material territories of Baligan's feudal kingdom<sup>46</sup>.

The worldliness of the heathen is clearly evident in the scene in which Genelun first enters the heathen camp.

The heathen are engaged in all kinds of temporal pleasures:

si hüben churzwile, RL 1752  
si sageten ir fauelie;  
si sagten ein ander under wegen  
manige seltsene rede; 1755  
si lachten unde waren uro.

- a clear contrast with the serious council of the 12  
Peers and Karl from which Genelun has just come. In battle,  
the heathen warriors are characterised by the external  
splendour of their armour<sup>47</sup>:

da was alles des wnteres genich RL 7367  
des got an dies erde ie gescuf,  
manc seltseniz spil;  
goldis was der uil, 7370  
daz uil edele gestaine.

In this case, the splendid material riches are created by  
God, but they are associated with the sin of pride and  
thus to be condemned<sup>48</sup>. They are symbolically trampled  
under foot by the Christians in battle<sup>49</sup>:

si zeslugen manigen guten iachant, RL 4927  
manigen schilt uon der hant.  
Hillunc unt Uastmar  
zehiwen in die goltmal: 4930  
da uielen genuge.  
si smideten ungefuge:  
si slugen iaspis unt smaragede  
alle uon ain ander.  
da wart michel not unde wüft, 4935

The Christian warriors are at times also described as  
wearing splendid armour, but this is by no means so com-  
mon and Konrad maintains that this external splendour is  
a sign of their inner purity<sup>50</sup>:

si furten gut gesmide RL 7880  
uon golde unt uon gimme,  
si luchten uzen unt innen  
sam diu brinnenden oleuaz.

The contrast between the worldliness, evil and splendour  
of the heathen, and the spiritualness, purity and relative  
lack of external splendour of the Christians, is exempli-  
fied in the banners carried by each army in the final

battle. Baligan's banner represents a dragon in gold and jewels, whereas the Christian banner depicts Christ and St. Peter, thus emphasising the divine nature of Karl's mission and the heavenly support due to the Christian forces<sup>51</sup>. In the final battle, the Christian warriors are fighting to avenge Roland and the fallen Christian rear-guard who have died in God's service. In this sense, vengeance is demanded and supported by God<sup>52</sup>. Heathen demands for vengeance are restricted, however, to vengeance for what they consider to be personal insult and injury by Karl and the Christian army to themselves and their feudal and personal allies<sup>53</sup>.

The preoccupation with temporal material considerations is equally characteristic of the Christian traitor Genelun. He is unable to arrive at the spirit of renunciation necessary in the true miles Christi, and he alone is affected by the physical exertion and suffering in the battles against the heathen<sup>54</sup>. In his dealings with the heathen, Genelun falsely projects this lack of Entsagungsgeist onto the remainder of the Christian army (RL 2428-31). In the same way, Konrad presents Genelun's vassals as being motivated by feudal allegiance and personal friendship, but their exaggerated sorrow at his departure for the heathen camp transcends even the knightly ethic and presents an instance of ummaze or of the beginnings of superbia:

der iamer tet in uile we.  
weder sit noch ee  
endorfte nie grozzer chlage werden:  
si uielen zu der erden,  
daz har brachen si uon der swarte,  
si wuften alle harte;  
ummaze was ir ungehabe.  
uil dicke si ime nach sahen,

RL 1730

1735

Genelun's thoughts are not with the divine and imperial

mission, but he is more concerned with personal matters. He accuses Roland of forgetting the family bonds between them, when Roland suggests Genelun for the task of messenger to the heathen (RL 1396), and he maintains that Roland is only concerned to usurp the material erbe of his son<sup>55</sup>. His justification for treachery is his personal animosity against Roland and the Peers<sup>56</sup>, and the importance he lays on personal and feudal ties, even placing such allegiance before the personal honour of a knight, emphasises his rôle as a miles saecularis and, later, filius diaboli<sup>57</sup>:

disu truwe ist uber gulde	RL 1679
aller werlte ere,	1680
daz ir durch uweren herren	
birt gerecht unze an den tot.	

Genelun imputes the sin of pride to his enemy Roland (RL 1842), and yet Konrad's description of the external splendour of Genelun and his followers before his departure for the heathen camp highlights their own delight in temporal things (RL 1548-1634), at the same time as exemplifying the generosity of Karl as Emperor. Genelun's concern with temporal considerations comes to a head in his final treachery, and the splendid gifts presented him by the heathen allow the obvious parallel with Judas Iscariot<sup>58</sup>:

er uerchophte in mit gedinge	RL 1930
umbe drizzic phenninge;	
daz ime sit uil uble irgienc,	
wander sich selben erhienc.	
des en was alles nehein rat,	
iz was lange uore gewissaget.	1935
unde uerchophte Judas in einī,	
Genelun uerchouphte widir die heidin	
mit ungetruwen listen	
manigen herlichen kristen.	

This association also points to Genelun's downfall, for as in Judas' case everything is predicted, because Genelun's crime is against God and Christendom in the



person of God's vicegerent Karl. Henceforth Genelun is characterised by untruwe, which is inherent in the gold he has accepted and which associates him with his heathen allies:

mit gedinge man wac	<u>RL</u> 1940
den schaz den man ime dar umbe gab,	
des goldes einen uil michelin last.	
wie starche die untruwe uz prast!	
In deme rate sazen	
ungetruwe husgnozze;	1945

Konrad summarises the two reasons of personal animosity and greed as being decisive for his treachery (RL 1980 f.). In addition, Blanscandiz flatters Genelun in his imperial function, thus playing on his personal pride (RL 1762-6), and Marsilie promises him that his personal reputation and wealth will continue to flourish in return for his treachery (RL 2311-13). When Genelun mentions the honour due to Karl when he is to return to France after peacefully subduing the heathen in Spain (RL 2424-6), he has already forgotten the praise due to God for the fulfilment of such a divine mission, but sees only Karl's personal honour as he himself sees only his only personal honour and reputation<sup>59</sup>. The Christian warriors in the subsequent battles are concerned with cancelling out the gifts presented to Genelun for his treachery and the material honour he has supposedly gained in the eyes of the heathen (RL 5359; 6283-5; 8958; etc.). In all, Konrad's presentation of Genelun bears considerable similarities to his characterisation of the heathen enemies of Christendom; he is totally concerned with the considerations of this world and unable to show the spirit of self-sacrifice required of a Christian knight in the service of God. However, his sin is ultimately more serious than that of the heathen, who cling to their gods

largely out of ignorance of the true religion, for he willingly and consciously betrays the kingdom of God both in heaven and in its materialisation on this earth under the Emperorship of Karl. In this sense, his condemnation is as justified and as inevitable as the condemnation of Judas.

Although Wolfram's presentation of the heathen protagonists in Willehalm is more favourable than Konrad, he too emphasises their concern with such material considerations as personal honour, external splendour and vengeance for affronted honour. Wolfram's poem is more deeply imbued with the spirit of chivalric excellence, and, as we have seen in Part II, presents a world closer to that of the knightly public for which Wolfram was writing; a certain emphasis on knightly customs and on the trappings and finery of armour and equipment is therefore to be expected. Nevertheless, from the outset, Wolfram presents the heathen forces as surrounded by a splendour and costliness uncharacteristic of Western knights:

wie er die heiden ligen sach?	<u>Wh.</u> 16,3
under manegem samîtes dach,	
under manegem phelle lieht gemâl.	16,5
innerhalb von zindâl	
wâren ir hûtte und ir gezelt,	
zAlischanz ûf daz velt	
geslagen mit seilen sidîn.	
ir banier gâben schîn	10,10
von tiuren vremdeclichen sniten:	
al nâch der gâmâne siten	
der schein dâ solh wunder,	

In fact, the introduction of such materials to the West was a direct result of trade between the Western and the Arab worlds fostered by the Crusades<sup>60</sup>. This heathen material splendour is to no great avail in the second battle at Alischanz, and the costly finery is soaked in blood and the jewels trampled underfoot<sup>61</sup>:

den getouften henden man des giht,      Wh. 381,12  
von Vriende ab den gesten  
ir tiuren phellel glesten  
manec swertes ecke aldâ begôz,      381,15  
daz daz bluot über die blicke vlôz:  
si wurden almeistec rôt gevar.

Wolfram associates this heathen luxuria with the sin of pride characteristic of the heathen<sup>62</sup>:

manegen phelle licht gemâl      Wh. 33,16  
ir ors truogen ze kleiden.  
liuten und an orsen beiden  
kôs man phelle tiure:  
dem vanken in dem viure      33,20  
solher gelpheite ie gebrast.  
dâ kom der sunnen widerglast  
an manegem wâpenrocke.

In addition, he criticises the exaggerated finery of the heathen horses and the use of mares as not suitable for the common form of mounted attack by Western knights:

daz was Margot von Pozzidant      Wh. 395,5  
den man gezimieret vant  
ein jumenten rîten,  
dar ûf er wolde strîten,  
mit îserkovertiur verdact.  
ûf daz îsern was gestract  
ein phellel, des ir was ze vil.      395,10  
der orse muoter man niht wil  
sô hie ze lande zieren:  
wir kunnen diu ors punieren.

The suit of armour which Gyburg gives Rennewart is a heathen one, and its splendour, excellence and value are emphasised (Wh. 293,21-30; 294,23-295,15), although Wolfram withholds all criticism.

The heathen warriors in Willehalm are constantly represented as Minneritter, and as secular knights are concerned with increasing their own personal reputation by virtue of heroic deeds in battle. Thus Halzebier considers it an honour to be in the vanguard of the heathen attack<sup>63</sup>:

Halzebier sich vreute sêre:      Wh. 342,1  
ez dûhte in groezlîch êre,  
daz er solde gâhen,  
die vînde vor emphâhen.

Their main concern is to ensure that there should be no slur on their own personal reputation or on that of their leader Terramer (Wh. 43,6 f., 20-3; 359,30; etc.). The motivation for the conflict between the heathen and the Christian forces is extended by Wolfram from a personal feud between Willehalm and Tybalt into a conflict between Christendom and the heathen world for religious and political domination<sup>64</sup>, but the heathen forces are throughout both battles determined to avenge on the one hand the slur on the honour of Tybalt and the heathen race caused by Willehalm's abducting Gyburg and by her baptism, and on the other hand to avenge the heathen princes and their vassals who had been killed in the first battle. Thus Ehmereiz, Gyburg's son, curses Willehalm for what he has supposedly done to Gyburg<sup>65</sup>:

"ei waz dû lasters hâs getân	<u>Wh.</u> 75,4
an mîner muoter al den goten!	75,5
dîn zouber nam si ûz ir geboten	
und mînem vater Tîbalt.	
.....	
daz ie sô wîplîchez wîp	75,12
durch dich zebrach unser ê.	
daz tuot al mînem geslehte wê.	
ich enschilte ir niht, diu mich gebar,	75,15
ob ich der zuht wil nemen war:	
doch trage ich immer gein ir haz.	
mit stüende diu krône al destе baz,	
hetez Arâbel niht verworht:	
daz hât mîn schame sît dicke ervorht."	75,20

and even Gyburg recognises that she is at least in part the cause for the battle, although she rejects all claims by Tybalt to her person (Wh. 101,20 f; 216,30-217,5).

Terramer clearly announces his desire to avenge his fallen relatives<sup>66</sup>:

uns ist erschinen der geltes tac,	<u>Wh.</u> 337,22
daz wir Pîneles tût	
suln klagen mit der getouften nôt.	
Tesereiz und Nöupatrîs,	337,25
die zwêne kûnege manegen prîs	

heten und der bruoder mîn,  
Arofel: des muoz ich sîn  
âne vreude, ich engereche sie.

Wh. 337,27

and this vengeance is to increase the personal honour and reputation of the heathen<sup>67</sup>. The further association of the heathen nobility with material considerations is amplified by Arofel's attempts to buy his life after being wounded by Willehalm and by Terramer's attempts to bribe Willehalm to surrender (Wh. 79,15-81,10; 87,1-3; 86,16-18).

Various instances of heathen preoccupation with things material are also to be found especially in the Spielmanns-epik. The poet of the Münchener Oswald refers to the loss of personal honour inherent in the inevitable defeat of the heathen forces:

den heiden muoste misselingen,  
wande si liezen sich verdringen,  
einer hin, der ander her,  
des verluren si wurde und êr.

MOsw. 2917

2920

The heathen leader Fore in Salman und Morolf quite naturally offers a financial incentive to those undertaking to aid him in his expedition to regain Salme from Salman, even though this plan is conceived in the context of a heathen Brautwerbung, or personal revenge for the conversion of a heathen princess:

"ich wil mit heres kraft uber sê:  
wer mir des gehilfet,  
den wil ich rîchen iemer mê."

SuM 31,3

31,5

In Orendel, one of the aims behind Pelian's desire to attack Orendel in the Lebermeer is the desire for material booty to be gained in such an enterprise<sup>68</sup>:

"ir vil stolzen helde gut,  
gewinnent einen frischen mut!  
umb daz golt also rot  
die kristen muzen liden den dot."

Or. 427

430

Graf Rudolf presents a parallel to the attempts by Arofel in Willehalm to buy his life with the offer of material riches; the two hostages taken by Rudolf beg for their lives by offering gold and silver, albeit to no avail<sup>69</sup>:

harte dicke man in bat  
daz ers nicht tun newolde.  
mit silber unde mit golde  
wolde man ime die herren wegen  
durch daz er sie lieze leben.

GR C 5

The representation of external splendour of both Christian and heathen world is an expression of the courtly context in which the action of the fragmentary poem is conceived: "Daher wird dem Darstellerischen gebührende Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt in der breiten Schilderung kostbarer Kleider, stattlicher Räume, edler, wohlgezäumter Rosse wie auch in der formvollendeten Anordnung und Durchführung des höfischen Festes."<sup>70</sup> The poet of the Wiener Oswald maintains that Oswald's father had left him material riches and splendour sint daz her ein heide was (Wosw. 14), and this characteristic wealth and splendour of the heathen, as well as their preoccupation with temporal pursuits, is again exemplified in the nameless heathen king's chess-board<sup>71</sup>:

daz bret was von helfenbeinen,  
saphiren waren di steine,  
mit golde so durchslagen,  
daz iz ir zwelfe musten tragen.

Wosw. 256

.....

daz bret was groz unde starc,  
iz koste wol hundert marc.

262

The description of the heathen giant Mentwin in Orendel presents the external splendour and knightly excellence of the heathen warrior in contrast to the drabness and restraint of Orendel's grey cloak<sup>72</sup>. This attribute of external splendour is also prominent in the MHG version of

the second book of the Old Testament, which has been vary-  
ingly seen to contain crusading elements<sup>73</sup>. The poet de-  
scribes the splendid picture presented by Pharaoh's army  
and the excellence of their military equipment in a pas-  
sage not present in the Latin Vulgate<sup>74</sup>:

Si fûren uile scône,	<u>AEx.</u> 3039
dô si zesamene chômen,	3040
si hêten manigen breiten uanen:	
in nâhet der bane.	
die alswarze môre	
si hêten scare scône,	
manich zeichen rôt:	3045
in nâhet der tôt;	
manigez grüne unde wîz	
geworht wâren si in allem ulîz.	
si hêten sich beuangen	
mit îserînen spangen,	3050
mit îserînen ringen	
ze susgetânen dingen.	
den wâren die gêren	
geworht nâch den êren.	
die lîsten alumbe	3055
uon rôteme golde	
ze wîge wâren si wole gare:	
si hêten hêrlîche scare.	

This external splendour is associated with the sin of  
pride among the Egyptian army (AEx. 3075-7): "These ref-  
erences therefore pass judgement on the scene which the  
author has illustrated with such a wealth of detail: they  
reveal the useless folly of the pagans' military splendour  
and expose the impotence of knightly pomp when confronted  
by the power of God who has sworn to uphold the Israel-  
ites."<sup>75</sup>

This concern with material considerations attributed by  
MHG poets to their heathen characters, standing in direct  
contrast to the asceticism demanded of the Crusader and to  
the spiritual nature of the reward awaiting the true miles  
Christi, is part of the process of a generally negative  
heathen characterisation which accords with the Church's  
attitude towards non-Christians in the period directly

preceding the Crusades and during the campaigns themselves. The heathen characters in MHG crusading literature, and references to the protagonists of Christianity in crusading chronicles and papal propaganda, are in the great majority explicitly negative, and any analysis of positive characteristics associated with the heathen forces in general or with individual heathen warriors must of necessity be seen against the bulk of such material.

4. Latin crusading sources made no attempt to understand the heathen religion, but the religious difference was enough for Church theoreticians and preachers to condemn all non-Christians, and to see in all heathens the enemies of God and of his true servant, whether he were knight or monk. The basic sin of the heathen tribes was that of not recognising Christ<sup>76</sup>:

... constat universitatem Sarracenorum unius Dei cultricem esse librosque legis necnon et circumcisionem recipere, Christum etiam et apostolos apostolicosque viros non improbare, in hoc tantum a salute longe esse, quod Iesum Christum humano generi salutem afferentem Deum vel Dei filium esse negant Mahmetque seductorem, ... tamquam prophetam magnum summi Dei venerantur et colunt.

and the author of the Gesta Francorum had the heathen leader Kerboqa categorically reject the Christian God<sup>77</sup>:

"Deum uestrum et uestram christianitatem nec optamus nec uolumus, ..."

Bernard of Clairvaux exhorted the Duke of Bohemia and his followers to avenge the accusation of treachery and falsehood directed at the Christian God<sup>78</sup>:

Accusatur proditionis Rex noster: imponitur ei quod non sit Deus, sed falso simulaverit quod non erat. Quis in vobis est fidelis ejus, surgat, defendat Dominum suum ab impositae proditionis infamia; ...

The heathen were constantly referred to as the enemies of



God, as inimici Dei, as a strange people alienated from God by virtue of their persecution of the Christians in the Holy Land, as gens extranea, gens prorsus a Deo aliena, and above all as increduli<sup>79</sup>. The author of the Gesta Francorum saw the bloodthirstiness of the heathen attacks to be motivated by the Abbassid Khalif of Baghdad, their spiritual leader, who had given them leave to kill as many Christians as possible<sup>80</sup>:

... et licentiam Christianos occidendi accepisset a Calipha illorum apostolico, ...

and the Estonian threat to Eastern Europe was equally seen as a heathen threat against the whole of Christian culture in general<sup>81</sup>. From the outset, the heathen were regarded as desiring to convert all Christians by the propagation of a holy war or ḡihād, although this more extreme Moslem reaction did not gain its true momentum in the Crusades until the later 12th Century, despite the provision for such an aggressive attitude in the Koran<sup>82</sup>. Baldric of Dol described the banning of the Christian religion and the preaching of Islamic beliefs in former Christian churches in Antioch<sup>83</sup>:

Antiochae beatus Petrus primus praesedit episcopus; ecce in ipsa ecclesia gentiles suas collocavere superstitiones; et religionem Christianam, quam potissimum coluisse debuerant, ab aula Deo dicata turpiter eliminaverunt.

and in the Gesta Francorum, the heathen Kerboqa presented the Christians with the ultimatum of conversion to Islam with its material advantages, or death or slavery, reminiscent of the Christian policy of compelle intrare<sup>84</sup>:

"... si per omnia cupiunt effici Turci, et deum uestrum quem uos inclini colitis abnegare uolunt et leges uestras spernere, nos illis hanc et satis plus dabimus de terra, et ciuitates et castella adhuc autem quod nemo uestrorum remanebit pedes, sed erunt omnes

milites sicut et nos sumus; et habebimus semper eos in summa amicitia. Sin autem, sciant se per omnia capitalem subire sententiam, aut deducti in uinculis Corrozanam in captiuitate perpetua seruiant nobis nostrisque infantibus per sempiterna tempora."

Pope Lucius III accused Saladin of desiring to wipe out Christianity and replace it by the Moslem religion<sup>85</sup>:

Ille enim Saladinus, sancti et tremendi nominis immanissimus persecutor, ita spiritu furoris excanduit, et totius nequitiae suae vires ad inter-  
necionem populi fidelis exercet, ut nisi immanitatis ejus vehemens impetus quasi obituris obicibus reprimatur, certam spem fiduciamque suscipiet, quod influat Jordanus in os ejus, et terra vivifici Sanguinis aspersione consecrata spurcissimae superstitionis illius contagio polluat; ...

This heathen godlessness, the representation of them as enemies of God, and their desire to overcome Christianity and Christian culture in general, meant that in the context of crusading warfare there was to be no quarter and they were to be destroyed and cut down like cattle<sup>86</sup>:

Regressi autem Christiani victores a palatio post nimiam et cruentam caedam Sarracenorum, quorum decem milia in ipso loco ceciderunt, plures copias Gentilium, per vicos civitatis errantes diffugio prae timore mortis, in ore gladii percusserent.

They were associated with the forces of evil and the cohorts of the Devil<sup>87</sup>:

O quantum dedecus si gens tam spreta, degener, et daemonum ancilla, gentem omnipotentis Dei fide praeditam, et Christi nomine fulgidam, sic superavit!

In such a way, the spiritualisation of the conflict and the view of battle with the heathen as a form of psychomachia<sup>88</sup> gained additional import. The death of such enemies of God, the incarnation of evil and the forces of the Devil, meant that the souls of the heathen were condemned to Hell and eternal damnation<sup>89</sup>:

Sanctae Resurrectionis ecclesia, requies dormientis Domini, eorum sustinet imperia, foedatur spurcitiis, qui resurrectionis non habebunt participium, sed, stipula ignis aeterni, perennibus deputabuntur incendiis.

Such references to the devilish and accursed nature of the heathen, which included the conviction that they were doomed to defeat and eternal damnation, caused various chroniclers and preachers to draw parallels between the heathen warriors and wild animals, which in medieval allegory were seen to be symbolic of the Devil and for the associated sin of pride<sup>90</sup>. Thus William of Tyre depicted the churches at Jerusalem as defiled by dogs, a common epithet for the heathen both in Latin theology of the Middle Ages and in MHG crusading literature<sup>91</sup>:

Ingressi sunt canes in sancta, profanatum est  
sanctuarium, humiliatus est cultor Dei populus; ...

and Baldric of Dol saw these churches to have been converted into stables<sup>92</sup>. Bernard of Clairvaux also demanded that all that is holy should not be allowed to be given over to dogs or cast before swine<sup>93</sup>:

Quid facitis viri fortes? Quid facitis servi crucis?  
Itane dabitur sanctum canibus et margaritas porcis?

At the same time as this extremely negative attitude towards the heathen, both in the Church's propaganda and in the accounts of actual campaigns, the importance of the act of baptism cannot be overestimated in the relationships between Christianity and the Moslem peoples. The act of baptism was equated with acceptance of the true religion, and enabled every convert to participate in the spiritual rewards available to all those leading a true Christian existence. Thus Bohemund baptised the vanquished heathen during the First Crusade<sup>94</sup>:

... Boemundus quidam de genere Turcorum, qui Veritate cognita, quae Christus est, baptismi gratiam percepit, et a Boemundo principe recenter de sacro fonte levatus, nomine ejus est vocatus; ...

and heathen offers of a truce are to be distrusted before

they have been baptised<sup>95</sup>.

Despite a general ignorance by Western theologians of the true nature of the Moslem religion, Christian propagandists and chroniclers impute the religious motivation to their heathen opponents in terms of ridicule or contempt. The heathen leader Kerboqa swore by Mahomet and other heathen gods, in the false belief that the Moslems were polytheists<sup>96</sup>:

*Amodo iuro vobis per Machomet et per omnia deorum nomina, ...*

and Innocent III associated Mahomet with purely temporal and material pleasures<sup>97</sup>:

*... Machometus pseudopropheta, surrexit, qui per saeculares illecebras et voluptates carnales multos a veritate seduxit; cujus perfidia etsi usque ad haec tempora invaluerit, ...*

They were thought to consult with their priests before battle and to place their confidence in them, in analogy to Christian prayers before battle, although the implication by Christian chroniclers was that such confidence was in vain<sup>98</sup>:

*Rex autem ... magos, ariolos et aruspices deorum suorum invitat, de victoria futura requirit: qui omnia prospere succedere, triumphare Christianos, facili bello superare regem promiserunt.*

Ekkehard of Aura explicitly stated the impotence of these heathen gods<sup>99</sup>:

*... quamvis idolorum responsis de victoria certificati acrius quam antea unquam resisterent, sicut cera a facie ignis ante ipsum liquescerent.*

Certain heathen were aware of the Christian God, as Kerboqa's mother attempted to warn her son before the battle of Antioch<sup>100</sup>, although this warning was to no avail. Kerboqa, for his part, regarded the Christian leaders themselves as gods<sup>101</sup>, in the same way as Ekkehard of

Aura presented the heathen as looking upon their own leaders as divine<sup>102</sup>:

... uni tantum Persico imperatori pene divini cultus  
more subiecti, ...

Contemporary Christian propagandists and historians referred to the heathen opponents with epithets which rapidly became stereotype in Latin sources. Ignorance as to the exact nature of their ethnic background meant that they were given various national labels, or they were generally seen simply as barbari, maligni, gens ferocissima, impii, infideles, etc.<sup>103</sup>. The one attitude characteristic of references to the heathen throughout crusading sources was their pride or arrogance, which was represented in marked contrast to the Christian virtue of humilitas. Refusal to recognise the power of the Christian God and to submit to his service constituted this primeval sin, which in medieval theology was seen to have caused the fall of Lucifer and his followers from Heaven to Hell, and which justified Christian attempts to fulfil God's vengeance by destroying the heathen as representatives of evil. Albert of Aachen described the heathen leader at Antioch in terms of his pride<sup>104</sup>:

Corbahan vero ..., vir contumax et plenus superba  
feritate, virtutes Christianorum parvipendens, in  
haec verba spiritu superbiae erupit: ...

and in the earlier battle at Tharsis Tancred maintained that Turkish pride would be overcome with the aid of God's grace<sup>105</sup>:

"Si hi vestri milites aut principes habentur, in Dei  
nostri nomine eos parvipendimus ... Qui si, Deo  
opitulante, victi a nobis fuerint, superbia vestra et  
jactantia poenas non evadet."

Pope Clement III associated the attacks on the Holy Sepulchre with the arrogant nature of the heathen forces<sup>106</sup>:

... ne ... Ismaelis illa servilis ac nefanda progenies, quae jam coepit in eisdem partibus peculiarem haereditatem Domini hostiliter demoliri, virium suarum interim augmentum assumat et, in sua praevalens vanitate, contra filium liberae, videlicet Christianum, quod absit, calcaneum insolentius erigat et eum acrius persequatur.

and for Innocent III this pride was a related aspect of their godlessness<sup>107</sup>:

... infirmi robore accingantur, ut arcum fortium superent et superbiam eorum humilient qui non in Deo sed in sua feritate confidunt.

In addition, the heathen were falsely seen as treacherous and faithless when it came to alliances or treaties, so that many Crusaders were of the opinion that it was not necessary to keep their word when dealing with the heathen<sup>108</sup>. Despite occasional praise of the warlike characteristics of their opponents, the chroniclers especially of the First Crusade saw the heathen warriors to be afraid of the Crusaders and of God, so that it was not uncommon for them to be seen to flee in battle<sup>109</sup>:

Obcaecati itaque et infirmati Sarraceni, in obstaculo tam venerabilis signi timore illis immisso, non diu perseveraverunt in bello.

Similarly, crusading chroniclers recorded the excessive noise associated with heathen battle preparations, to which the Crusaders were not accustomed when first joining battle with them, and which was used as a negative characteristic for the enemies of the Crusaders<sup>110</sup>:

Turci vero tubis et cornibus horrisionis ad terrendum ipsum Tancredum a muris fortiter intonant.

Latin sources for the Crusades can thus be maintained to have presented the heathen opponents in a predominantly negative light and to have made no genuine attempt at presenting Moslem beliefs in an objective manner, despite the close contacts made during the campaigns by those who

recorded the individual battles and skirmishes in the Holy Land. This predominantly negative attitude also prevails in MHG crusading poetry in the presentation of the enemies of Christianity. In the Kaiserchronik, from the beginnings of the Roman Empire, the poet criticises the heathen Romans for not showing God the correct respect<sup>111</sup>, and throughout the poem the heathen are depicted as not recognising the true God<sup>112</sup>:

der was ain gotes widerwarte,	<u>Kchr.</u> 5559
die cristen muot er harte,	5560
er was ain aehtaere der cristenhait.	

The term widerwarte is used exclusively for the heathen enemies of God<sup>113</sup>. In the Rolandslied, Konrad also refers to Blanscandiz as der widir warte der got nine uorchte (RL 549 f.; cf. RL 3481; 7714; 8853), as a synonym for God's enemy, who with his cunning and treachery is likened to the Antichrist<sup>114</sup>. The main sin of the heathen is their refusal, either actively or passively, to recognise God as their true Creator, an attitude representative of the sin of superbia, because recognition of God's power on this earth in the true spirit of humility is the correct attitude for the true Christian<sup>115</sup>:

done wessen si nicht rechte,	<u>RL</u> 3480
daz er allez wider got strebet,	
swer ane got lebet.	
si uersmahent ir rechten schephare,	
den unseren waren heilare,	
den unseren oberisten ewart,	3485
der niemen ane trost enlat,	
swer mit <sup>o</sup> deumite	
suchet sine gute.	

Karl appeals to Christ that the heathen should be forgiven their sins of serving the Devil and be brought to recognise God as their only true Creator, thus abandoning their pride and serving God in the true spirit of humility. This

abrenuntiatio diaboli is the prerequisite for conversion and is equally part of Karl's divine mission<sup>116</sup>:

er sprach: "lob uñ ere RL 775  
 nu unde iemir mere  
 sage wir dir, heilige crist,  
 wande du aller sculde ein svnere bist.  
 nu tû dise heiden  
 uon ir sundin heile, 780  
 daz si dich irkennin  
 unde dine werch minnin."

Konrad's introduction expresses this same duty by Karl as the exemplary medieval ruler. It is his mission to reveal to the heathen the true nature of God, of whom they were formerly ignorant, by baptising those who are willing to be converted and putting those who stubbornly refuse to recognise God to the sword<sup>117</sup>:

die grimmigen heiden bedwungin, RL 20  
 daz si erkanten daz ware liecht:  
 sine wessen e nicht  
 wer ir schephere was.

Even the hypocritical words by Blanscandiz, in his feigned offer to be baptised and to submit to Karl's domination, reveal this standpoint and illustrate the huge gulf between Christian or convert and the adamant heathen irrevocably cut off from God's mercy<sup>118</sup>:

"wir birn heiden, RL 727  
 leider uon gote gescheiden;  
 nu hilf uns sine hulde irweruen,  
 daz wir in den sunden icht irsterben." 730

The climax of Karl's divine mission is reached when the heathen queen Brechmunda admits her ignorance of revealed religion and is baptised in a spirit of penance for her past sins<sup>119</sup>:

"ich wil", sprach si, "richten unt buzin RL 8622  
 swa ich mich uersumet han:  
 ich han iz unwizent getan; ..."

but the importance of baptism as an initiation into a state of awareness of God's power and as a condition for Christian



association with God finds its direct expression in the earlier words by Bishop Johannes:

"diu toufe ist daz aller herist, RL 1085  
daz solte sin daz aller erist,  
daz solte min herre an sehen  
un solde ordinen ir leben:  
so wuchse die gotes lere."

Johannes' suggestion also contains the religio-political intention of testing the genuineness of heathen proposals of surrender by insisting on the process of baptism before other negotiations should take place - a standpoint typical of the rigid thinking of the medieval Church in the 10th and 11th Centuries<sup>120</sup>. Even Genelun's words in the heathen camp, despite his plans to betray Karl's divine mission and his own Christian heritage, initially reveal this same consistency. Without baptism the heathen cannot possibly realise the real truth (RL 1803-5), and God's mercy in the ceremony of baptism releases the heathen from the threat of eternal damnation:

"kūnich aller himele, RL 2019  
der uns uon dere helle irloste 2020  
unde die sine alle getroste,  
der gebe dir die gnade  
daz du besizzest sine rawe,  
unde irledige dich uon deme ewigin tode."

The reward for acceptance of baptism far outweighs any of the material riches available on this earth (RL 8488-90). In addition, the Christian warriors are reminded of the importance of baptism in the crusading situation in which they find themselves. Their willingness to be martyred and the purification which they have attained through absolution and confession culminating in the battle with the heathen, are as if they were as the Holy Innocents and had been returned to the state of absolute purity existing at their baptism<sup>121</sup>:

swaz si gote in der toufe gehiezen,      RL 5765  
wi war si daz allez liezen!  
si waren lutter unt raine  
ane rost unt ane mailen,  
sam diu heiligen chindelin

Such a fundamental Christian standpoint in the Middle Ages, which presented the act of baptism as the sacrament which so irrevocably distinguished between Christian and heathen, is at the root of all relationships between Christians and non-Christians in MHG literature. Without baptism, virtually no character in MHG literature, with the possible exception of Rennewart in Willehalm and Belakane in Parzival, can be seen in wholly positive terms, whatever other exemplary characteristics he or she may possess. The positive characteristics with which the heathen characters are imbued only gain their true perspective after their acceptance of baptism, as they become integrated in a true Christian life. Stubborn refusal to be baptised and to be initiated into the Christian religion usually condemns the heathen to inevitable destruction and to damnation. MHG poets constantly emphasise the importance of baptism and the missionary duty of Christian rulers in dealing with non-Christians, even in non-military and non-crusading situations, and it is only in exceptional cases that a heathen character is presented in a predominantly sympathetic light without baptism<sup>122</sup>. In the Kaiserchronik, the angel of God differentiates clearly between heathen und Christian, and criticises Gregory the Great's prayers for the exemplary heathen Trajan's soul:

jâ sint die haiden      Kchr. 6045  
von den christen gescaiden.

Gregory's own sense of sacrifice and Trajan's excellence as Emperor bring about the unique example of the soul of

a non-baptised heathen being saved after death<sup>123</sup>. The main emphasis in the Kaiserchronik is on the lives of Emperors and Popes, but as it was the duty of the medieval ruler to expand the bounds of Christianity, the importance of baptism is emphasised at various stages in the context of relationships with the heathen<sup>124</sup>.

Such relationships between heathen and Christian are also characteristic of the Spielmannsepik when the plot of such poems includes the motif of Brautgewinnung combined with missionary activity against heathen opponents in the same Oriental arena as was the scene of crusading activity. Thus in the Münchener Oswald the Christian king plans his expedition to the East in order to gain a bride but at the same time to aid Pamige and her maids, who already secretly believe in Christianity (MOsw. 235-49; 2517 f.; 2522; etc.), to gain baptism against the will of the heathen king:

"nu muoz ich über des meres vluot, MOsw. 251  
ich hilfe in ze der toufe," sprach der  
junge degen,  
"unde gienge ez mir an mîn werdez  
leben!"

For Pamige, baptism and marriage to Oswald are inextricably combined (MOsw. 1144; 1148), and the process of persuading her father Aron and his followers to be baptised presents ample opportunity for the poet to extol the advantages of such a decision and the dangers to the heathen souls if they should refuse<sup>125</sup>. Aron's attempts to test God (MOsw. 2966-72; 3033 f.; 3042-50) enable the poet to illustrate the divine aid available to a Christian monarch in his desire to expand Christianity. In the Vienna manuscript, it is the Raven, as the carrier of the theme of

Brautwerbung, who persuades Spange and her father to be baptised<sup>126</sup>, and both Spange's attempts to test God before baptism and the divine intervention to convince the heathen of the nature of Heaven and Hell<sup>127</sup> have the desired effect of enlightenment in the heathen king consummated in the act of baptism<sup>128</sup>:

mir ist hint vorkomen	<u>Wosw.</u> 1316
wi ich habe vornomen	
daz wunderliche mere,	
wi ein guter got were,	
der wonet in dem himelrich.	1320
wir haben geloubet torlich,	
daz wir alle sunder wan	
den tufel gebetet haben an:	
ich habe irkant an diser frist,	
daz ein warer got ist.	1325

The importance of baptism for the soul's salvation is similarly important in Salman und Morolf<sup>129</sup>:

"dū edele kuniginne hēr,	<u>SuM</u> 580,3
dū solt dich lāzen doufen,	
sō bist dū genesen an der sêl."	580,5

although the theme of conversion is subordinated to the intrigue between Salme and Morolf. It is significant, too, that Fore's sister only consents to baptism after Morolf has promised to marry her to Salman after Salme's death - in this way, the theme of conversion is also connected to that of Brautgewinnung<sup>130</sup>. We have already seen that the ultimatum of compelle intrare plays an important rôle in Orendel's dealings with the heathen<sup>131</sup>. Orendel is explicitly introduced to Bride as a Christian (Or. 1199), and she later refuses to have any dealings with the heathen Minold:

"du enwoltest dich dan lan doufen	<u>Or.</u> 3278
und an den waren Krist gelouben,	
wiltu dem nit werden underdan,	3280
ich nemen dich nummer zu eime man."	

Orendel also significantly insists on baptism as part of

the bargain between himself and the kings of Babylonia<sup>132</sup>:

"wollent sie mir machen underdan	<u>Or.</u> 2616
daz lant von Ackers bis uf den Jordan,	
und wollent sich ouch lazen doufen	
und an den waren Krist gelouben,	
so wil ich uf diser erden	2620
gerne ir beder dienstman werden.	
wollent sie mir der doufe abe gan,	
so sagen ich uch here daz vor war,	
so wil ich mit irem libe	
vehnten zwene herte folcwise."	2625

In Graf Rudolf, the baptism of the heathen princess

Irmgart also plays a central part in Rudolf's later exploits. Her alms-giving is a sign of the Christian virtue of caritas, although her baptism is motivated by love for the Christian count<sup>133</sup>. Herzog Ernst can encourage his followers with the promise of heavenly reward in battle with the crane-people because they are a heathen tribe who do not pay God the appropriate humble service:

diz sint ungetoufte liute	<u>HE</u> 3752
unde ahtent niht ûf got.	

Walther von der Vogelweide maintains that the superbia of the heathen depends on their unbaptised state:

sîn geist müez uns gefristen,	<u>L</u> 77,16
daz wir die diet verlisten.	
der touf si seit unkristen:	
wan fürhtent si den stap	
der ouch die juden villet?	77,20

Wolfram likewise emphasises the importance of baptism in his poems so that his heathen characters generally appear in a less favourable light. Gahmuret's reason for leaving Belakane lies in the difference between their religious beliefs, although this does not present much of a barrier for her (Parz. 55,25-7; 56,25-30; 57,6 f.). In the same way, Herzeloyde sees her claim to Gahmuret's love to be more legitimate because she is a Christian:

"Ir sult die Moerinne	<u>Parz.</u> 94,11
lân durch mine minne.	

des toufes segen hât bezzer kraft.      Parz. 94,13  
 nu ânet iuch der heidenschaft,  
 und minnet mich nâch unser ê:      94,15  
 wan mirst nâch iwerr minne wê."

Later in the poem, Wolfram maintains that Kyot was aided in his understanding of the nature of the Grail not by heathen necromancy but by his Christian beliefs (Parz. 453,11-22), and despite his chivalric excellence, Feirefiz must be baptised before he may see the Grail and marry Repanse de Schoye<sup>134</sup>. However, it is in Willehalm that Wolfram's use of references to the sacrament of baptism serves to distinguish clearly between servants of God and the enemies of Christendom, even though the poem expresses a considerable degree of sympathy and understanding for the situation of the unbaptised heathen. During the two battles, Wolfram constantly refers to the Christian army as die getouften<sup>135</sup>, and his Eingangsgebet emphasises the importance of baptism for his religious consciousness as medieval poet and knight<sup>136</sup>:

sô gît der touf mir einen tröst,      Wh. 1,23  
 der mich zwîvels hât erlöst:  
 ich hân gelouphaften sîn,      1,25  
 daz ich dîn genanne bin,  
 wîsheit ob allen listen.  
 dû list Krist, sô bin ich kristen.

In analogy to the heathen princesses in the Oswald legend and Salman und Morolf, the conversion of Gyburg has been brought about by love for a Christian knight and love for God<sup>137</sup>:

durch liebes vriundes minne      Wh. 9,18  
 und durch minne von der hoesten hant  
 was kristen leben an ir bekant.      9,20

and it is by her declarations of faith in Christianity that the differences between Christian and heathen and the theological weakness of her father's position become

clear<sup>138</sup>. Gyburg recognises God as the Creator of all life, both Christian and heathen - a belief which is at the centre of Christianity, and which calls forth the correct spirit of humility lacking in the protagonists of the heathen religion<sup>139</sup>:

si sprach: "ich hân den touf genomen	Wh. 215,10
durch den, der al die krêatiur	
geschuof, daz wazzer und daz viur,	
dar zuo den luft und die erden.	
der selbe hiez mich werden	
und allez, daz lebehaftes ist.	215,15
solde ich durch Mahmeten Krist	
und den markîs verkiesen	
und mînen touf verliesen	
und manege werdecliche ger,	
die under schilte mit dem sper,	215,20
mit helme verdecket,	
sô dicke hât volrecket	
der markîs mit heldes tât	
und noch vil guoten willen hât	
ze dienen nâch mîner minne?"	215,25

Gyburg's conversion to Christianity presents the motive for raising the second battle onto another plane. The battle in Gyburg's name becomes a battle for landes êre and service of God<sup>140</sup>:

"waz wirret Gîburge der sîezen?	Wh. 120,3
mac mîn helfe daz gebûezen?	
daz hât si wol verschuldet her,	120,5
daz ieslîch werder Franzois wer	
sînes dienstes zir gebote	
(man mac an ir gedienen gote	
und unsers landes êre),	
und durch die überkêre,	120,10
die si tet gein dem toufe."	

With the exception of Rennewart, the stubborn heathen attitude in refusing to accept baptism leads only to damnation:

dâ verwûrkes an mir al dîn heil.	Wh. 221,23
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The stress laid on the spiritual values of baptism by MHG poets causes heathen characters generally to be seen in a less favourable light, in so far as they arrogantly refuse to accept this initiation into the beliefs of

Christianity, despite their otherwise exemplary depiction. This aggressive reaction to the Christian religion and a stubborn, ignorant belief in the vain power of the heathen gods, more clearly serves to increase the critical light thrown upon the enemies of Christendom in vernacular literature. Examples of heathen warriors confiding in their gods and appealing to them for aid in battle abound, and the representation of heathen religious practices and devotion highlights the religious nature of the conflict and the importance of the reward for the crusading knight. The analysis on the following pages of such representations of heathen religious activity in MHG crusading literature does not aim to be fully comprehensive, but presents the background against which expressions of sympathy or attempts at an objective portrayal of such religious activity must be seen.

In the introduction to the Kaiserchronik, the poet sees the heathen as idolaters, the idols themselves as impure, and the service of their gods as being enforced by their rulers:

Hie bevor bi der haiden zîten	<u>Kchr.</u> 43
duo anebette man wîten	
abgot diu unrainen.	45
die haiden algemaine	
muosen si êren unt anebeten	
al nâch der chunige gebote.	

For the Regensburg cleric, there was no difference between the religious practices of heathen or Jew<sup>141</sup>, and in the religious dispute between Christian, Jew and heathen at the centre of the Sylvesterlegende, it is the Jew Zambri who propounds the traditional theological arguments against Christianity concerning the Trinity, Christ's Passion, the Virgin Birth, etc.<sup>142</sup>. Following traditional



medieval theology, the poet presents Christians as an elect and chosen people, and any differing religious standpoint must therefore be condemned: "Dieses Bewußtsein des religiösen Auserwähltseins war für den mittelalterlichen Menschen in weit höherem Maße entscheidend, als uns das heute im allgemeinen vorstellbar ist. Aus ihm erklärt sich die Sicherheit und Unproblematic, mit der andere Formen der Religiosität abgelehnt werden konnten und mußten."<sup>143</sup> The poet refers to heathen gods and idols as getroch<sup>144</sup>, and such idols made by human hand can easily be destroyed by human hand<sup>145</sup>. The heathen also have a missionary purpose in their dealings with their Christian opponents<sup>146</sup>:

dû solt wider an unser gote jehen,                      Kchr. 8233  
diene den mit triwen.

although such attempts to convert the Christians or to reconvert the heathen baptised are doomed to failure. Such failure leads to heathen despair both in their own military prowess and in the power of their gods:

diu vorhte braite sich uber allen  
    disen umberinch.                      Kchr. 16765  
dâ got die sîne tete sigehaft,  
da gezwîvelt elliû haidenisciu craft,  
sine versuochten ez an si niht mêre.

Religious preparations for battle by the heathen in Konrad's Rolandslied similarly have the effect of highlighting the religious conflict between the two armies. From the outset, Konrad sees the heathen in the same way as the poet of the Kaiserchronik: they lead the impure lives of idolaters:

wie unkusclichen si lebeten,                      RL 33  
die apgot an betten,  
daz si got nine uorchten,                      35  
harte sich uirworchtin.

and their main sin is one of immunditia, or lack of the

appropriate respect for God, which leads to certain downfall<sup>147</sup>. The most common of the heathen gods to whom the heathen warriors pray and give service are Machmet, Apollo, and Tervagant, although at one stage Konrad credits them with 700 idols (RL 3492-4). Appeal is constantly made to these gods, at times in stereotype phrases, in an attempt to overcome the Christian religion, to flee Christian vengeance or to gain the material rewards available in battle<sup>148</sup>. Heathen service of their gods is, however, associated with the sin of superbia, and essentially with material desires and external splendour. Before the attack on the Christian rearguard, Konrad juxtaposes the Christian preparations of holy communion, prayers and absolution with the heathen arrogant demands of Machmet for the personal honour of defeating Roland<sup>149</sup>. Their religious ceremonies are seen in terms of dancing and music, of praying to their idols on a large pedestal, of blowing golden horns and of noise enough to cause the birds to fall lifeless from the heavens; the material splendour surrounding the idols is also constantly highlighted (RL 4157-9). Nevertheless, Marsilie and Baligan are confident of the aid they can expect from their gods (RL 3566; 7965; 8132 ff.; 8140 ff.; etc.), and Baligan's rejection of the Christian religion in the final battle signifies his condemnation in the eyes of God and the certainty of his defeat by Karl with divine aid:

min herre Teruagant	RL 8495
der hiu dir den schilt uon der hant.	
wa ist din herre Crist,	
uf den du so dicke gist?	
nu helue er dir swes er mege!	
din botech ich den uogelin lege,	8500
din houbit für ich hinnen:	
daz tûn ich Criste zeminnen.	

Konrad does not allow heathen confidence in their gods to be justified in any way: the efforts of the Christian army are enough for the heathen to lose faith in their own gods<sup>150</sup>, and the material splendour of their idols is trodden underfoot and destroyed in the heat of battle<sup>151</sup>:

si getruten in ze uerre,	RL 3524
des gelagen si alle da nidere.	3525
der gote ne chom nine hain widere.	
di gote wurden alle zeslagen,	
in pruch unt in graben	
wurden si geworfen.	

The Christian warriors can thus claim the superiority of Christ over the heathen gods, and fulfil the divine mission of destroying both the heathen religion and those who stubbornly cling to their beliefs<sup>152</sup>. In particular, the supremacy of the Christian army and of Christianity over the evil and inferior beliefs of the heathen forces is symbolised in Turpin's slaying of Sigelot, whom the heathen maintain to be divine:

Turpin sluc Sigeloten,	RL 5591
den anpetten di haiden für ain got.	

Such a claim to divinity is also made in the Kaiserchronik by the heathen opponent of the exemplary Christian monarch Keraclius:

ain haidenisker chunich hiez Cosdras,	<u>Kchr.</u> 11143
.....	
vil gerne wolt er got sin:	11147

Similarly, the opponent of St. Peter's missionary activity, Simon Magus, to whom the poet gives the title goukelaere<sup>153</sup> and whom he sees as God's enemy (Kchr. 4055), is represented as a heathen deity:

daz liut begunde im allez jehen,	<u>Kchr.</u> 4062
daz si nie gesaehen	
nehainen got sô maeren,	
der in sô wol geviele.	4065

The heathen king Ymelot, the opponent of Constantine in



Parzival, and formulaic calls to their gods by the heathen are part of the heroic literary tradition<sup>157</sup>, in Willehalm Wolfram lays special emphasis on the heathen beliefs and on their religious practices to accentuate the religious conflict in the poem. With the escalation of motivation to one of world supremacy, the conflict takes on religio-political dimensions. Wolfram is perfectly aware of the Church's traditional attitude towards the heathen, and alongside expressions of sympathy for the praiseworthy human characteristics of his heathen warriors and a more liberal attitude towards dealings with them, various instances are to be found in the poem presenting the heathen religion as clearly inferior to Christianity. In common with other MHG poets, Wolfram has Gyburg represent the heathen as desecrating God's honour:

die den hoesten got hânt gesmâht,                      Wh. 298,26  
noch bî uns in dem lande sint.

The heathen warriors appeal to their gods for material aid to overcome the Christian army (Wh. 38,18 f.; 351,20; 353,12-14; 408,15; etc.), and the religious preparations before their magnificent idols are accompanied by ironic asides by Wolfram: he sees the heathen to be vertôret by the material splendour of the idols which are towed into battle (Wh. 352,1-17; 400,13 f.), and the heathen prayers to Machmet and Tervigant are made in terms of the common epithet of noise associated with the heathen (Wh. 11,16-18). In parallel to the Christian warriors, the heathen knights are motivated both by Minne and by service of their gods<sup>158</sup>, and the Christian belief that the heathen want to convert the Christians after victory is kept alive in Willehalm's Kreuzrede<sup>159</sup>:



ungerne uf dînen schaden vuor,                      Wh. 217,21  
 unz mîchs bî unser ê beswuor  
 der bâruc und die êwarten sîn;  
 die gâben mirz vûr sünde mîn,  
 daz ich dich taete libelôs.                      217,25

In this way, Wolfram inverts the idea of battle as psychomachia and applies it to the heathen religious practices. The extension of the conflict onto the plane of world domination means for Terramer that his claim to the throne of the Christian Empire is made in honour of his own religion, but also as a method of increasing his own personal reputation among the heathen peoples; his desire to overthrow the imperial throne at Aachen includes the destruction of all those relying on the power of Christ to aid them (Wh. 340,4-11).

In the context of their religious beliefs the heathen are, nevertheless, not only inferior but misled by their gods. Gyburg's Schmährede to the heathen forces before Orange reveals the extent to which they have been deceived: they run the risk of death on this earth and the soul's condemnation in eternity because of their beliefs in Tervagant:

"vor iuwerm gote Tervigant,                      Wh. 110,29  
 der iuchvûr tôren hât erkant."                      110,30

Even Rennewart is disillusioned with the heathen gods, and although he stubbornly refuses to accept baptism (Wh. 193,2-9, 19), he is the only heathen character whom Wolfram does not condemn. In parallel to Konrad's Rolandslied, the heathen idols are towed into battle, only to be abandoned in the heat of the conflict<sup>162</sup>. Wolfram emphasises the impotence of the heathen idols in the midst of battle (Wh. 398,30-399,6; 449,18-29), and despite Matribleiz's belief in these gods, even he has to admit

that their power was to no avail in the second battle:

"unser wer und unser gote hêr                      Wh. 463,12  
half niht, wir enmüesten unverholn  
die wâren schumfentiure doln."

The heathen attitude to their religion is thus generally characterised by stubborn confidence or disillusionment, and the Christian reaction is also a dual one. On the one hand, the aim of the Christian monarch is to convert the heathen, usually by the use of force, and to expand the Christian Empire on this earth; this aim is simultaneously represented as a divine mission in which the Christian monarch is God's vicegerent. On the other hand, stubborn refusal to accept Christianity and to recognise the supremacy of God is countered by a ruthless Christian tactic: the heathen warriors are shown no quarter, but in a spirit of anger and vengeance the Christian knights see in the heathen purely an exteriorisation of evil which it is their duty to destroy and in which task God aids them. In this conflict, the heathen are slaughtered as if they were cattle or dogs, and their idols and temples are destroyed in God's name<sup>163</sup>. Despite his otherwise sympathetic portrayal of the heathen knighthood, even Wolfram occasionally expresses this ruthless Christian attitude towards the enemies of Christendom in Willehalm<sup>164</sup>:

si begiengen an den liuten,                      Wh. 381,9  
ob si stöcke solden riuten,                      381,10  
si endorften harter houwen niht.

Stubborn adherence to their gods by the majority of the heathen knighthood in MHG crusading literature means that they are condemned by God, and the Christian warriors are only the executive arm of his vengeance. The battle between Christian and heathen is therefore a battle between



good and evil, between God and Satan; the heathen gods are associated with the Devil and his angels, in the same way as the Christian monarch and his army are supported by God, the archangels, the martyrs' choir and all the forces of Heaven. The heathen armies are the Devil's associates, and when God's judgement strikes them in the shape of the Christian army, their souls are condemned to eternal Hell-fire, and the sin of superbia associates them clearly with Satan. In the Kaiserchronik, the poet constantly associates heathen idols and all forms of heresy with the Devil<sup>165</sup>, and in the religious dispute at the court of Constantine, Sylvester expounds the sin of pride which caused the downfall of Satan, his angels and the human race, until Christ redeemed mankind in his Passion (Kchr. 9264-9306). All those heathen who are the declared enemies of God and Christendom are condemned to Hell<sup>166</sup>:

die tievel kōmen dar	<u>Kchr.</u> 4293
mit ainer micheln scar	
in swarzer vogeles pilede.	4295
in ainem michelem genibele	
nāmen si die sēle:	
die helle būwet si iemer mēre.	

and even the exemplary Emperor Trajan's soul is originally condemned to eternal darkness, although ultimately saved by St. Gregory's intervention (Kchr. 6027-9). The account of the attack on Edessa before the poet's sudden end to his chronicle also sees the heathen to be fulfilling the Devil's handiwork (Kchr. 17267 f.). Thus, both in the context of holy warfare against the heathen, and in the context of depicting the deities of Ancient Rome, the poet of the Kaiserchronik represents the Church's traditional standpoint of spiritual censure.

Konrad's Rolandslid abounds with references to the

association of the heathen and their gods with the Devil, and to the outcome of such an association for the souls of the heathen after death. Konrad depicts the battles as between the forces of good and evil, in which divine support for the forces of good is successful, and the forces of evil are condemned to defeat from the outset. The heathen are the Devil's children, whom it is Karl's divine mission to rescue by means of conversion<sup>167</sup>:

daz er gestroste	RL 42
di manicualdigen haidenschaft,	
den diu nebil uinstere nacht	
den totlichen scat pare,	45
daz er si dem tuvil bename.	

and even their territory and external appearance are associated with things dark and terrible<sup>168</sup>:

dar chom ouch Zernubele,	RL 2682
des lutes got nicht rüchet,	
die erde ist gar uerfluchet.	
in ne geschain nie dehain sunne,	2685
der nebel ist ir gwinne;	
.....	
si lebent mit grimme.	2691
der tuuil wont dar inne.	

The curse of God is upon his heathen enemies, and their defeat is therefore never in doubt because of God's aid to the Christians<sup>169</sup>:

"wes sparstu den man?	RL 8545
diu urtaile ist uber in getan:	
uerfluchet ist al sin tail.	
got git dir daz hail:	
dine uiante geligent unter dinin fuzen."	

The heathen can thus legitimately be seen as unige<sup>170</sup>, and their condemnation is justified by their belief in their own gods, which are related to the Devil (RL 805-14)<sup>171</sup>. The result of these beliefs is death in this world and the soul's damnation in the life to come<sup>172</sup>.

Such a condemnation of the Devil, and of the heathen and their religious services because of their association

with him, is characteristic of most of the poems under review. The poet of Orendel characterises the Christian prince's enemies as duvelichen getan<sup>173</sup>, and in an ironic reversal of the usual process, Orendel is accused of devilish practices by Mercian after he has killed Sudan<sup>174</sup>:

"der duvel druc uch uf disen hof,                      Or. 1105  
der muze uch an disen stunden  
furen zu der helle grunden."

In the Oswald legend, the heathen forces are miraculously shown the Hell to which they will be condemned if they do not agree to conversion (MOsw. 3019-21; WOsw. 1272-80; 1287-90), and Oswald's explanation of Christianity to Pamige in the face of the attacking heathen fleet reveals the trust and confidence of the Christian knight in the power of God and of the Virgin. No Christian dies before his allotted time, unless he has aroused God's wrath, and then he dies, like the heathen, to eternal damnation<sup>175</sup>:

"âne got selber kan uns niht geschaden!    MOsw. 2774  
des hân wir kristen einen trôst:                      2775  
vrouwe daz hân ich iu noch nie erlost,  
daz kein kristen sterbe ûf erden,  
ez müeze sîn rehter veictac werden,  
er habe danne verworht sîn leben  
gegen deme himlischen degen:                      2780  
sô stirbet er och ê sîner zît  
unde hât ouch verloren sêle unde lîp.  
daz hât kein kristen, obe got wil, noch nie  
getan:"

The poets of Salman und Morolf and König Rother also use the common motif of associating their dreadful heathen with the Devil<sup>176</sup>, and the heathen knights are condemned to death and eternal damnation on the battlefield (SuM 493,3-6; Roth. 4277-9). This association of the heathen with the Devil and the Anti-Christ is, in Graf Rudolf, likewise part of stock crusading propaganda (GR α 19 f.; Cb 17 f.). Wolfram's condemnation of the Devil at the

outset of Willehalm is in direct contrast to the promise of heavenly reward for the Christian warrior (Wh. 38,2-11). The dead heathen warriors in the poem are condemned to Hell as tradition demanded, although Wolfram's feelings of regret because of their chivalric excellence modifies the intensity of this depiction<sup>177</sup>:

nû gedenke ich mir leide,  
sol ir got Tervigant  
si ze helle hân benant. Wh. 20,10

In addition to the condemnation of heathen knights on theological grounds, MHG poets refer to the heathen in the same way as crusading historiography with a collection of derogatory epithets and characteristics which rapidly become stereotype. In particular, reference to the heathen as dogs is traditional in clerical literature and becomes popular in MHG crusading works<sup>178</sup>. A medieval sermon associates the pre-Christian heathen with dogs<sup>179</sup>:

do die juden in den hulden dez almaechtigen gotes  
waren, do hiezzen si sineu chint und die haiden  
hiezzen hunt. der hunt ist ein unreins vihe, also  
waren die haiden, wan si mit den grozzen sünden  
bevungen waren. o we wie groz diu genad unsers herren  
ist! do diu haidenschaft den hiligen gelauben  
enphiengen, do wart in der nam verwandelt; die ê des,  
ê si den hiligen gelauben enphiengen, die hunte  
waren, do si gelaubich wurden, do wurden si diu chint  
gehaizzen, und die ungelacubigen juden die ê des diu  
chint waren, die sint nu die hunt,...

and this epithet is adopted into MHG literature both in crusading and non-crusading contexts. We have already seen that the heathen are exterminated on the battlefield like dogs or cattle, and that the dog was also seen among other animals as a symbol of superbia in medieval allegory<sup>180</sup>. The heathen gods are consequently also thrown to the dogs, and the heathen warriors characterised as hunde or brought into close association with dogs<sup>181</sup>. The knowledge by

Western poets of the nature of the Moslem tribes was generally inaccurate or distorted, and for this reason it became natural to see the heathen tribes as a strange, terrible, evil people, characterised by darkness and with an appearance unlike anything known in the West. Such epithets as freissam, wild, ubel, grimmig, etc., soon become stock attributes in MHG literature<sup>182</sup>, and Wolfram particularly emphasises the strangeness of many of his heathen characters<sup>183</sup>:

des volc was vorn und hinden horn,	Wh. 35,13
âne menschlich stimme erkorn:	
der dôn von ir munde	35,15
gal sam die leithunde	
oder als ein kelber muoter lûet.	

A further common characteristic of the heathen knights is their explicit savagery, anger and recklessness in battle, a motif popularised by the exaggerated accounts of heathen atrocities circulating in Church propaganda especially at the time of the First Crusade, but common in much of Crusade literature<sup>184</sup>. Encounters between Christian and heathen armies in MHG crusading literature are also accompanied by references to the excessive noise especially associated with the heathen combatants<sup>185</sup>:

haiden di gesellen	RL 4103
pliesen ze geuelle,	
sam si tiêr iageten.	4105

The heathen leaders are characterised as faithless and cunning partners when it comes to any form of truce or agreement, so that a degree of scepticism is necessary in dealing with them. Blanscandiz in the Rolandslied is a person full of cunning<sup>186</sup>, and Genelun's treachery likewise earns him the epithet ungetruwe<sup>187</sup>. Similarly, the heathen king Aron in the Münchener Oswald is accused

of treachery by his own daughter (MOsw. 972-5; 1013-16), and it is only by cunning that the heathen are able to bring about Gahmuret's death:

gunêrtiu heidensch witze                      Parz. 105,16  
hât uns verstoln den helt quot.

Above all, however, the heathen are characterised by pride and arrogance in marked contrast to Christian humilitas. The epithets hochvart, vermezzenhait, übermuot, hochmuot, and gelf, when applied to the heathen, contain the predominantly negative import of superbia, and highlight the dualism between proximity to God in the Christian forces and rejection by God in the heathen. Nevertheless, these terms are not completely negative; they also play a central rôle in knightly vocabulary and take on a more positive shading in later MHG literature<sup>188</sup>. For the purposes of our study, however, the epithets of pride and arrogance are common for the enemies of Christendom. The Regensburg cleric opens the Kaiserchronik with a condemnation of lies and arrogance (Kchr. 39 f.), and his account of the First Crusade sees the heathen to have no right to be in the Holy City of Jerusalem, but to have entered the city out of a spirit of superbia<sup>189</sup>:

die haiden ungesezzen                      Kchr. 16694  
wâren alsô vermezzen:                      16695

The heathen are imbued with this sin throughout the poem<sup>190</sup>, although the poet also attributes it to the Christian knights to utter words of censure (Kchr. 14273; 16264-6; etc.). In particular, pride associates the heathen with Lucifer, in so far as this was the cause of his fall from grace in Heaven (Kchr. 8798-8809; 9264-89). Konrad echoes the same motif in the Rolandslied when he condemns the

heathen:

si uerlait ir groz ubermüt	RL 4604
di Luciferen den alten,	4605
hibeuor ualte:	
alle di sich ir unterwindent,	
di werdent all hi geschendet;	
di sint sine genoz,	
di werdent zu im uerstozen.	4610
mit ubermüte chomen si dar.	

and in the same way as he stresses the humility of his Christian knights, he constantly emphasises the heathen pride<sup>191</sup>. The heathen cunning extends so far as to pretend to emulate Christian humility (RL 593 f.). The Spielmanns-dichtung adopts this sin as a characteristic for the heathen knights<sup>192</sup>, and in the crusading situation of Graf Rudolf pride and the Anti-Christ are associated in the words of the Christian king:

ich wene nu ist Anticrist	GR Cb 17
den heiden kumen zu helfe,	
sie varen so mit gelfe.	

Even Wolfram's Willehalm presents instances of this characteristic trait among the heathen knights opposing the Christian Empire<sup>193</sup>. Further derogatory epithets associated with the heathen include their fear and flight in battle as well as magic, and various forms of human weakness<sup>194</sup>.

This analysis of the portrayal of the heathen in MHG crusading literature has extensively shown that all the poems examined express to a lesser or greater degree an attitude towards the enemies of Christendom and to their beliefs which approximates to the prevailing negative attitude of the medieval Church. By emphasis on the importance of baptism for the spiritual life of the medieval knight and for his soul's salvation, by ridicule of all other forms of religious service, by association of heresy and idolatry with the realm of evil and the Devil, by a

depiction of heathen knights as inherently sinful and as susceptible to a collection of human failings - in particular with the characteristic sin of superbia in its many forms - MHG poets ensure that the heathen characters in their poems are generally inferior to their Christian counterparts until baptism has taken place.

It now remains for us to examine the positive portrayals of heathen characters and attempts at an objective attitude towards the dualism between heathen and Christian world in these poems, in which the influence of characteristics more closely associated with the environment of the secular knight are opposed to the predominantly inflexible and critical tone of contemporary crusading sources.

5. The Latin sources of Western medieval Church propaganda and crusading chronicles presented very few examples of anything approaching a positive attitude towards Mohammedanism or beliefs differing in any way from the official standpoint of the Church of Rome. Papal propaganda was virtually unanimous in condemning those of non-Christian belief, and constituted a long tradition of pronouncements in which all heathen were more often to be destroyed as evil than to be converted peacefully by missionary activity. Nevertheless, the conflict between Innocent III and Frederick II, the expansion of the crusading idea to include papal enemies, the growing custom by which crusading vows could be absolved by payment of money ostensibly to support crusading activity, and the continuing failure of successive campaigns to the East, meant that popular belief in the divine nature of the Crusade declined<sup>195</sup>. In



particular, popular antagonism against the crusading idea was directed against the Pope and the clergy in general, and in the 13th Century and later this was accompanied by an increase in the number of voices calling for a return to the use of peaceful missionary activity against non-Christians instead of the use of force<sup>196</sup>. Crusading chroniclers during the 12th and early 13th Centuries increased their praise of Mohammedan military prowess in the tradition of the chronicles of the First Crusade, and William of Tripoli's account of Mahomet and the Islamic faith showed an increased knowledge of Islam by including a discussion of those areas of belief in which similarities with Christianity were evident<sup>197</sup>.

In his account of the First Crusade, the author of the Gesta Francorum paid the Turkish opponents the great compliment of comparing them in terms of military prowess with the Franks themselves, and only their different beliefs rendered them inferior<sup>198</sup>:

Quis unquam tam sapiens aut doctus audebit describere prudentiam militiamque et fortitudinem Turcorum? ... Verumtamen dicunt se esse de Francorum generatione, et quia nullus homo naturaliter debet esse miles nisi Franci et illi ... Certe si in fide Christi et Christianitate sancta semper firmi fuissent, ... ipsis potentiores uel fortiores uel bellorum ingeniosissimos nullus inuenire potuisset.

The author of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Ricardi Regis<sup>199</sup> also saw the heathen enemies as nostris quidem non inferiores, and delighted in accounts of their excellence in arms:

Cum gens illa Turcorum, probitatis admirandae, virtutis eximiae, bellicis exercitiis viri strenuissimi; magnificentia insignes, in murorum altitudine oberrarent, curiosissimis eos oculis intuentur christiani tamquam bellatores praecipuos admirantes et recolendae memoriae.

Matthew of Pairis's account of the heathen Sultan al-Kamil attributes him with all the Christian virtues not usually associated with the heathen<sup>200</sup>:

Erat autem, licet paganus, veridicus, munificus, parcens, in quantum permisit legis suae severitas et vicinorum suspicio, christianis.

St. Bernard's extremely hostile attitude to the heathen in his preaching was modified after the failure of the Second Crusade. He now saw it the duty of the Pope to convert the heathen by peacefully persuading them of the error of their ways<sup>201</sup>:

Interest proinde tua, dare operam quam possis, ut increduli convertantur ad fidem, conversi non avertantur, aversi revertantur: ... subversores invictis rationibus convincantur, ut vel emendentur ipsi, si fieri potest; vel si non, perdant auctoritatem facultatemque alios subvertendi.

and he emphasised the need to preach to the heathen, not to destroy them<sup>202</sup>:

Qua fiducia, qua conscientia Christum non vel offerimus eis qui non habent? An veritatem Dei in injustitia detinemus? Et quidem quandoque perveniat gentium plenitudo necesse est. Expectamus ut in eas incidat fides? Cui credere casu contigit? Quomodo credent sine praedicante?

In addition, especially in the later 12th and 13th Centuries, various Church theoreticians were to point out the similarities between Christianity and Mohammedanism, so that the idea of a common Creator for all mankind as propounded by Arnold of Lübeck was at this time no longer entirely unusual<sup>203</sup>. This return to the use of peaceful methods to convert non-believers found its theoretical expression in St. Thomas Aquinas' Summa Theologica<sup>204</sup>. Thomas took issue directly with the principle of forceful conversion, especially with Luke xiv, 23, and replied:

... quod infidelium quidam sunt qui nunquam susceperunt fidem, sicut Gentiles, et Judaei: et

tales nullo modo sunt ad fidem compellendi, ut ipsi credant; quia credere voluntatis est: sunt tamen compellendi a fidelibus, si adsit facultas, ut fidem non impediunt vel blasphemias, vel malis persuasionibus, vel etiam apertis persecutionibus; ...

In particular, Thomas restricted the Church's right to use force ~~[to be used]~~ against heretics and apostates; in this he merely repeated the reservations on the use of force for conversion originally propounded by St. Augustine<sup>205</sup>. With this restatement of the Church's peaceful mission towards non-Christians, the medieval theological attitude to war had turned full circle.

Our analysis of the theme of conversion in MHG crusading literature has shown that this aim was predominantly pursued with the use of force as part of the Christian monarch's duty as God's vicegerent. Only occasionally, as in the case of Bishop Johannes in Konrad's Rolandslied, does the idea of peaceful conversion gain any prominence (RL 1054-89), although in this poem the emphasis is more on the difference between the reflective life of the monk and the more active life of redemptive chivalry on the one hand, and on the desire for martyrdom on the other hand. MHG poets generally restrict the use of explicitly positive epithets for the heathen knights in their poems to two concepts both central to the world of the medieval knight: the service of Minne, and the physical virtues associated with battle prowess. The sublimation of Minne by the miles christianus in service of God<sup>206</sup> may be lacking in the heathen knight, and the characteristic sin of superbia may exaggerate his martial talents and desire for worldly fame, but MHG poets - and particularly such poets who counted themselves among knightly society - willingly

accept that such positive secular characteristics may be found in a heathen knight. In particular, the growth of the concept of hohe Minne in MHG poetry, and the corresponding edifying process which this is seen to have on the hohen muot of the knight, and the later spiritualisation of Minne in the state of marriage, represent a system of values developing parallel to those of redemptive chivalry which is equally attributed to heathen knightly society, so that such heathen Minneritter are treated with the same respect as Christian Minneritter<sup>207</sup>. The recognition of the heroic virtues of bravery and excellence of arms as positive virtues in Christian chivalry is also extended in MHG poetry to include the heathen chivalry. And these positive characteristics are explicitly recognised as such, although in theological terms these virtues can only gain their true validity in the context of a true relationship to God: "Die heidnischen Tugenden sind nicht an sich schon Laster, nur weil sie die von Heiden sind, sondern sie sind insofern Laster, als sie nicht auf Gott bezogen werden, wie auch beim Christen Tugenden nur solche sind, wenn sie auf Gott bezogen werden."<sup>208</sup>

In Konrad's Rolandslied, the heathen prince Magariz stands out against the other heathen knights in terms of his external appearance and his rôle as Minneritter<sup>209</sup>:

er was scone unde lussam:	RL 3727
die haiden harte gezam	
daz si in musin scowin;	
harte minnoten in die frouwin.	3730

and significantly the cleric Konrad does not directly criticise this otherwise worldly attribute in a heathen. However, the concept of Minne in terms of earthly relationships between knight and lady is otherwise suppressed

in the poem, including the relationship between Roland and Alda, and Konrad's further references to Minne are in terms of the love for God demanded of the true miles Christi. Konrad further characterises the heathen knights with the heroic epithets of bravery and skill in the use of arms - worldly attributes, in which the heathen are equal to Christian chivalry, but the appropriate application of these virtues in the service of God and Christianity is lacking. Konrad thus detracts from these otherwise excellent virtues by reference to their heathen beliefs or to the characteristic sin of superbia<sup>210</sup>:

iz newart uf der erde	RL 4594
nie nehain chunc so here geborn,	4595
waren si durch daz rechte uz chom,	
erne scolt ir wol trost haben.	

.....	
si waren ch <sup>u</sup> ne helde;	4600

.....	
doch si waren haiden,	4602

although the heroic epithets helt, snel, riterliche, ellen, edele, wigant, ch<sup>u</sup>n, etc., express a certain admiration for worldly characteristics seen as positive in secular Christian chivalry<sup>211</sup>. Despite Konrad's otherwise negative portrayal of the Christian traitor Genelun, he too is seen by the heathen in terms of his imposing external appearance, although the element of flattery is here clearly not to be underestimated (RL 2179-82; etc.).

Minne rapidly becomes a concept which MHG poets regard as of equal importance for a knightly existence, and the principles of Minne and the exalted position in which the lady was placed are applied to heathen and to Christian alike. The poets of the Spielmannsdichtung combine the depiction of a journey to the Holy Land, in which the motif of conversion is included, with the desire by

Christian monarchs to win a bride. The heathen princesses associate their new religious beliefs with love for a Christian knight, and in Graf Rudolf, the Christian count is a favourite of the ladies because of his Christian virtue<sup>212</sup>. In particular, the importance of Minne as a motivating factor for both Christian and heathen knight occupies a central position in the works of Wolfram von Eschenbach. Wolfram's concern with the dilemma of reconciling the demands of this world with the demands of God entails a depiction of the positive characteristics associated with the world of secular chivalry, and his depiction of the heathen knight is here no exception. The heathen princes in Belakane's land are knights who are by no means inferior to Gahmuret; they are motivated by Minne (Parz. 26,10-27; 32,19-23; 41,18 f.; etc.) and Gahmuret himself is driven by love and by the desire for battle and for knightly honours (Parz. 35,18-28). However, Wolfram goes a lot further in his depiction of Belakane: despite the fact that she is a heathen, and despite Gahmuret's later rejection of her for the Christian Herzeloyde, who justifies her right to precedence over the heathen queen by her religion, Wolfram sees the purity and inner virtue of Belakane to be of the same moral value as baptism:

Gahmureten dūhte sān,	<u>Parz.</u> 28,10
swie si waere ein heidenin,	
mit triwen wīplīcher sin	
in wībes herze nie geslauf.	
ir kiusche was ein reiner touf,	
und ouch der regen der sie begōz,	28,15
der wāc der von ir ougen flōz	
ûf ir zobel und an ir brust.	

At no time does Wolfram in any way criticise Gahmuret's Minnedienst for his non-Christian lady, and Wolfram's

attitude towards Belakane for the first time implies an advance on the traditional theological standpoint. The sacrament of baptism is here no longer the automatic qualification for salvation and for acceptance in the Christian world, but life in an unbaptised state sublimated by the womanly virtue of kiusche is enough for Belakane to be wooed on equal terms by Gahmuret, as if she were a Christian<sup>213</sup>.

In Willehalm, the starting point for the conflict between Willehalm and Tybalt is the Minnestreit for Gyburg, whose belief in Christianity and baptism are inextricable combined with her love for Willehalm. Despite the escalation of the motivation for the conflict onto the religio-political plane of world domination, individual heathen knights are presented by Wolfram as Minneritter with epithets equally attributed to Christian Minne-ritter: "... auf Willehalm ... (wird) das höfisch-ritterliche Ideal projiziert, was seinen Ausdruck in der Tatsache findet, daß Willehalm ein Minneritter ist und vorbildliche Minneritter als Gegner oder als Kampfgefährten hat. In der Minne begründeter Kampf und der Glaubensstreit, und zwar das eine ohne das andere undenkbar, dies ist also das doppelte Motiv der fürchterlichen Schlacht von Aliscans, ..."<sup>214</sup> From the outset, Wolfram accepts and approves of these sentiments in Willehalm's opponents:

... zorse und ze vuoz  
wurben si um wibe gruoze  
oder sus nâch anderm prîse.  
daz tuot ouch der wîse.

Wh. 36,1

Nöupatrîs is typical of the heathen Minneritter: his splendid armour and the heraldic motif of Amor on his banner all proclaim the reason for his participation in the

battle<sup>215</sup>:

von gesteine und von golde	Wh. 24,2
was richiu koste niht vermiten:	
in die banier was gesniten	
Amor der minne zêren	24,5
mit einem tiuren gêre,	
durch daz wan der nâch minnen ranc.	

Thus the reasons for participation in battle are for the knights of both sides often the same<sup>216</sup>. Wolfram's sympathy for the heathen Minneritter is evident throughout the poem, and gains frequent expression in terms which allow the heathen to stand on an equal footing with the Christian knights. The death of the heathen knight Arofel is such a loss to the idea of Minnerittertum that he is worthy to be mourned by Christian and heathen ladies alike:

swaz harness und zimierde vant	Wh. 81,13
an im des marcgrâven hant,	
daz wart vil gar von im gezogen	81,15
undz houbet sîn vûr unbetrogen	
balde ab im geswenket	
und der wîbe dienst gekrenket.	
ir vreuden urbor an im lac:	
dâ erschein der minne ein vlüstec tac.	81,20
noch solden kristenlîchiu wîp	
klagen sînen ungetouften lîp.	

and no less a person than the Christian Empress maintains that the death of Vivianz is equally to be mourned on the heathen side:

"daz in heidenschaft doch etslîch wîp	Wh. 208,9
des klâren Vivianzes lîp	208,10
mit mir sol beriezen,	
des muostn geniezen,	
bruoder, immer wider mich, ..."	

This motivation as Minneritter by the heathen knights also brings to light other positive virtues in them. Gyburg's son Ehmereiz refuses to join in the attack on Orange out of respect for family ties, and after the death of the heathen princes Tesereiz and Nôupatrîs, their vassals refuse to fight against Gyburg out of respect for their lords' allegiance to the principle of Minnerittertum



(Wh. 266,10-268,2). In marked contrast, Terramer is expressis verbis too old for the rôle of Minneritter, for his position as leader of all the heathen tribes makes him the representative of the heathen imperial motivation in battle (Wh. 357,6-8).

The second attribute of Western chivalry recognised in the heathen and portrayed in positive terms in MHG crusading literature is excellence in battle and their personal honour and reputation. Many epithets otherwise associated with heroic literature gain a new validity, and by referring to the heathen with the same knightly epithets used to describe the Christians, MHG poets begin to represent a common basis for understanding on the level of secular values between Christian and heathen chivalry. The heroic vocabulary used to portray the secular virtues of bravery and force of arms plays a part in the portrayal of both Christian and heathen knight in the Kaiserchronik and the Rolandslied, although especially in Konrad's poem these epithets are placed in their true perspective in so far as on the heathen side the appropriate sense of humility and service of God are lacking<sup>217</sup>. In the Spielmannsepiik, where the aggressive spirit of crusading warfare is generally subordinated to themes of Brautwerbung, adventuring knight-hood, legend or fairy-tale, the heathen knights are presented in derogatory terms when the occasion arises, but otherwise their knightly characteristics are emphasised by the minstrel poets. In the Münchener Oswald the poet depicts the wildness and strangeness of the heathen knights, but describes their approach to the Christian army as näch ritterlichen siten (MOsw. 2721), and otherwise their aristocratic bearing and heroic nature render them in many

respects equal to the Christian knights (MOsw. 2220; 2234 f.; 2422; WOsw. 491; etc.). The strange peoples encountered by Herzog Ernst during his adventures in the East also possess knightly characteristics (HE 3638 f.; 4829-31). Despite the more aggressive attitude towards the heathen in Orendel, the opponents of the Christian king both in Jerusalem and Trier are valiant and brave warriors who possess the appropriate characteristics praised by Western secular chivalry<sup>218</sup>. In particular, the humorous nature of Salman und Morolf allows the poet to present the heathen protagonists in a sympathetic light<sup>219</sup>, for the religious conflict is subordinated to the desire to entertain. The heathen knights are therefore portrayed in conventional knightly terms of the West (SuM 23,1-5; 214,2-5; 422,1-5; 568,1-5), and pride in their own knightly existence is here a predominantly positive attribute<sup>220</sup> with none of the overtones of superbia characteristic of the heathen in Konrad's Rolandslied. The heathen characters in Salman und Morolf are even portrayed in a more admirable light than the representatives of Christianity and at times even as Christians<sup>221</sup>; thus Fore's answer to Salman's verbal attack on him portrays Christian sentiments<sup>223</sup>:

er sprach "rîcher kunig Salmân,	<u>SuM</u> 439,4
die rede vergebe dir got."	439,5

and he genuinely regrets that Salman will have to die for Salme's sake (SuM 441,1-3). His sympathy and friendly attitude towards his Christian enemies becomes especially clear in his request to his sister to concern herself with Salman on the eve of his planned execution<sup>224</sup>:

"swester, ich bite dich,	<u>SuM</u> 458,3
nû pflig sîn wol nâch êren:	
er ist ein furste lobelîch	458,5

ûz der stat zû Jerusalêm. SuM 459,1  
 mich rûwet sîn stolzer lîp,  
 sol im dar an missegên.  
 gedorste ich vor der frouwen wolgetân,  
 ich liez in gesunt von hinnen 459,5  
 wider heim gein Jerusalêm gân."

In addition, Morolf's treatment of the dead Fore is reminiscent of the later treatment of the fallen heathen princes in Wolfram's Willehalm:

er bestatte in in den sarc dâ sîn vater  
 inne lag SuM 547,3  
 nâch harte grôzen êren,  
 als man ez kungen erbieten mag. 547,5

The positive representation of battle prowess in heathen chivalry is also present in the MHG version of the biblical clash between the Israelites and the forces of Pharaoh where God destroys the Egyptian forces - a situation which lends itself to a depiction reflecting crusading activity<sup>225</sup>:

Dô ertrunchen zewâre AEx. 3255  
 die heideniskén mōre,  
 die uil snellen chnechte,  
 die heideniskén rechen,  
 der chunich unde sîne man,  
 ir neheiner nie danne chom. 3260  
 daz wazzer bedachte  
 die sîne chûnen chnappen,  
 sîne reitwagene  
 rîche unde manige.  
 alle sîne uurstén. 3265

The proximity of the depiction of heathen characters in Graf Rudolf to the reality of the crusading situation in the Holy Land has often been expounded by critics<sup>226</sup>, and this sympathetic portrayal may be a reflection of the relatively peaceful state of coexistence between Christian and Mohammedan at the time of Saladin. The stark dualism of the Rolandslied between the Christians as milites Christi and the heathen as milites diaboli is here abandoned; on the contrary, the poet paints a doubtful picture

of the Christian king of Jerusalem, in a manner approaching the account of the behaviour of the Byzantine Emperor in König Rother<sup>227</sup>. On the other hand, the heathen adviser Girabobe is depicted in noble terms, and the heathen warriors are referred to with positive epithets throughout the poem's fragments<sup>228</sup>. In particular, Rudolf takes service with the heathen Sultan, although out of pity he does no harm to his Christian opponents, and Halap refuses to surrender him to the Christian king of Jerusalem (GR Eb 36-54). The poet's sentiments thus echo those of Wolfram in the Gahmuret episode of Parzival, where Wolfram specifically praises the bravery of Gahmuret's heathen warriors, and only baptism differentiates between them and Kaylet's Christian vassals:

die vrävelen helde sint nu dîn:	<u>Parz.</u> 49,13
waern sie getoufet sô die mîn,	
und an der hiut nâch in getân,	49,15
sô wart gekroenet nie kein man,	
ern hete strîts von in genuoc.	

In Willehalm, instances of the poet's praise for the secular knightly qualities in the heathen opponents outnumber the negative epithets attached to them. The heroic epithets of knightly prowess present an enemy in whom Wolfram sees an equal to Christian chivalry in every way except for baptism<sup>229</sup>. Wolfram's own reference to the legend of Hildebrand underlines the secular virtues of heroic literature and Germanic knighthood which medieval feudal chivalry in part inherited<sup>230</sup>, and introduces a degree of fatalism into the battle and in particular into the approaching encounter between Rennewart and Terramer:

meister Hildebrandes vrou Uote	<u>Wh.</u> 439,16
mit triuwen nie gebeite baz,	
dan er tet maneger storje naz	
mit bluote begozzen.	

werlich und unverdrozzen  
hielt der voget von Baldac.

Wh. 439,20

In addition, many of the epithets associated with the heathen in earlier MHG works, which enhanced their negative depiction, are imbued with a more positive meaning in Wolfram's usage. In particular, the heathen knights take justified pride in their own knightly prowess, without the overtones of superbia characteristic of the heathen behaviour in Konrad's Rolandslied<sup>231</sup>. The typical heathen battle noise is similarly freed of any negative connotation<sup>232</sup>.

Wolfram's Willehalm has been varyingly seen as a poem expressing a spirit of "tolerance", "humanity" and objectivity towards the heathen and their religion<sup>233</sup>, but such terms do not do the religious situation of the battle and Wolfram's attitude towards his heathen knightly characters justice. Such expressions are best reserved for the religious standpoint of Lessing and his contemporaries of the Enlightenment, and not imposed on a situation which is basically quite different<sup>234</sup>. Wolfram does not believe in the equal validity of the Christian and heathen religion, nor does he completely reject the necessity of the use of force to protect Christendom and to expand its boundaries<sup>235</sup>. His rejection of the heathen gods and his emphasis on the importance of baptism as the ceremony which distinguishes between Christian and heathen, and which places all secular activity of the knights in its true Christian perspective, clearly elucidate his orthodox medieval view of the absolute supremacy of Christianity. Nevertheless, despite his recognition of the necessity of combatting the heathen, which at times

includes an uncompromising condemnation of the heathen soul to eternal damnation, Wolfram presents a general attitude of sympathy for the situation of the heathen forces and a spirit of Christian pity when they are defeated. In particular, his treatment of the heathen prince Rennewart, who opts to fight for the Christian forces, and of the former heathen princess Gyburg, and only to a lesser extent his treatment of Willehalm<sup>236</sup>, illustrate the basically different attitude he has from earlier MHG poets towards the portrayal of heathen characters.

Rennewart's relationship to Christianity and to Christendom is from the outset a positive one, although his motivations for opposing his heathen relatives are initially the material ones of êre and minne for Alyze<sup>237</sup>. Despite Wolfram's emphasis on the importance of baptism in the poem, Rennewart himself refuses baptism<sup>238</sup>:

nûst mir der touf niht geslaht. Wh. 193,19

and his hatred for his relatives arises from an unjustified feeling that they ought to have freed him from the lowly tasks he had to fulfil at the court of Louis (Wh. 285,1-10; cf. 388,18 f.; etc.). These material reasons are enough for him to oppose his relatives and to show them no quarter in the ensuing battles<sup>239</sup>, for his reaction is in keeping with the offended pride of a young heathen noble. However, after he has acted as the avenger of God on the cowardly imperial Frankish army, he also shows the Christian virtue of pity:

die rîchen und die armen Wh. 325,17  
begunden im erbarmen.

Throughout the second part of the poem, Rennewart's relationship to the Christian religion becomes a more and more personal one, so that despite his original refusals to

accept baptism it is hard to believe that Wolfram did not intend him to be converted to Christianity in the same way as Feirefiz and so remove the one traditional theological objection to his salvation<sup>240</sup>. He is disillusioned with the ineffectiveness of Mahmet and turns instead to Christ:

doch hân ich im sô vil geklaget,                      Wh. 193,9  
daz ich sîner helfe bin verzaget,                      193,10  
und hân mîchs nû gehabet an Krist,  
dem dû undertaenec bist.

and from this moment, the anger he feels against his relatives is turned to God's purpose so that he instinctively serves the Christian God<sup>241</sup>. Wolfram refers to Rennewart as diu gotes hant (Wh. 325,3), when he punishes the imperial army for fleeing on the field of battle, and his divine function is to bring about the victory for Christendom (Wh. 452,24 f.). Rennewart is vaguely aware of this divine function he has to fulfil:

waz ob mîch versuochen wil,                      Wh. 317,28  
der aller wunder hât gewalt,  
und ob mîn manheit sî balt?                      317,30

and he acts more and more like a Christian noble whose counterpart he is<sup>242</sup>. Willehalm's final lament for Rennewart, with its parallels to Karl's lament for Roland in Konrad's poem, reveals the degree of personal affection felt for him, despite his heathen background, and the divine function he has fulfilled in the battle between the two empires. Rennewart has brought about the victory for the Christian forces and has proved himself worthy of the highest knightly praise on both sides<sup>243</sup>:

er sprach: "ich enhân noch niht vernomen, Wh. 452,19  
war mîn zeswîu hant sî komen.                      452,20  
ich meine in, der ze beider sît  
den prîs behielt, dô diu zît  
kom und der urteilliche tac,  
daz ich von im des siges phlac  
und von der hoesten hende."  
452,25





the period of most crusading activity. As a convert to Christianity, who has abandoned material riches and power in heathen lands out of love for a Christian knight and for the Christian God, she represents a bridge between the two religions and cultures which oppose each other in the poem. Her love for Willehalm and her belief in Christianity are inseparable, despite the arguments made by her relatives and in particular by her father in attempts to have her renounce the Christian religion. Even when Willehalm had won her love during his adventurous exploits in the heathen lands, the respect for his knightly reputation there had been great among the heathen nobility<sup>245</sup>:

der begunde ouch miner minne gern,	Wh. 220,14
dô in der künec sînagûn,	220,15
Halzebieres swestersun,	
in einem sturme gevienc,	
dâ sîn hant alsolhe tât begienc,	
daz er den prîs ze beider sît	
behielt aldâ und alle zît.	220,20
diu hōhe wurde sîne	
über al die Sarrazîne	
was erschollen und erhōrt.	
dô was ich küneginne dort	
und phlac vil grōzer rîcheit.	220,25
sus lōnde ich sîner arbeit:	
boien und von anderm sînem versmiden	
machte ich in ledec an allen sînen liden	
und fuor in toufbaeriu lant.	
ich diene im und der hoesten hant:	220,30

In the religious dialogue between Gyburg and Terramer, Gyburg expresses thoughts similar to her appeal before the second battle. She stands steadfastly by her belief in Christianity and her love for Willehalm, and rejects the heathen religion and all attempts to make her return to the service of the heathen gods. She recognises that the battle between Christendom and the heathen empire must be continued for religious and political motives (Wh. 221,1 ff.), and yet her explanation of the Christian

beliefs of the Old Testament, in which she describes such pre-Christians as Adam whom Christ's Redemption had saved (Wh. 218,1-220,10), is a forerunner of her later exposition of the common human heritage of both heathen and Christian. Even though Terramer rejects the Redemption of mankind by Christ, he too sees Adam as the common father of the human race:

zuo dem hân ich kleinen trôst,	<u>Wh.</u> 219,9
daz unser vater würde erlöst,	219,10
Adâm, von hellebanden	
mit menneschlichen handen.	

Gyburg's passionate appeal to the Christian leaders before the second battle of Alischanz is made against a background of recognition of the necessity of such a conflict. In her confession to Willehalm's father, in which she places herself alone at the centre of the conflict between Christian and heathen, she sees herself as a representative of the Creator of both sides in the conflict:

ich schûr sîner hantgetât,	<u>Wh.</u> 253,9
der beide gemacht hât,	253,10
den kristen und den heiden!	

The heathen are in the wrong in their beliefs and are therefore to be opposed by Willehalm, his relatives and by the imperial army, but the spirit of relentless aggression characteristic of Konraû's Rolandslied is here lacking. Gyburg laments not only Vivianz and the fallen Christian knights but also her fallen heathen relatives, who are equally worthy of praise<sup>246</sup>:

nû hoert, waz mir der tût benam	<u>Wh.</u> 254,16
ûf Alischanz der mâge mîn.	
die sol von rehte ich klagende sîn,	
swie si heten stoufes niht:	
diu sippe vlust mir an in giht.	254,20

She appeals to the Christian knights that the heathen

should not be hewn down like cattle or destroyed simply as the externalisation of evil; rather they should be spared as creations of the same God<sup>247</sup>:

und ob der heiden schumfentiur ergê,      Wh. 306,25  
sô tuot, daz saelekeit wol stê:  
hoert eines tummen wibes rât,  
schônet der gotes hantgetât.  
ein heiden was der êrste man,  
den got machen began.      306,30

Wolfram expressly supports this view during the second battle; indeed, he sees the indiscriminate killing of the defeated heathen as a grave sin<sup>248</sup>:

die nie toufes künde      Wh. 450,15  
emphiengen, ist daz sünde,  
daz man die sluooc alsam ein vihe?  
grôzer sünde ich drumme gihe:  
ez ist gar gotes hantgetât,  
zwuo und sibenzec sprâche, die er hât.      450,20

Gyburg's justification for her appeal to spare the heathen contains a long list of biblical heathen existing before Christ's birth who were nevertheless saved<sup>249</sup>. All men are heathen from birth until the moment of their baptism, even Christ, and in particular God's endless capacity for mercy manifested both in his Redemption of Christ, in which the place formerly occupied by Satan and the fallen angels was regained for mankind, and in his forgiveness for those who crucified his own Son, should be an example to all Christians in the ensuing battle<sup>250</sup>:

ob iu got sigenunft dort git,      Wh. 309,5  
lâts iu erbarmen in dem strît.  
sîn werdeclichez leben bôt  
vür die schuldehaften an dem tût  
unser vater Tetragramatôn.

The violence of the battle which ensues after the arrival of the fresh Christian forces, and, despite Gyburg's appeal for mercy, the motif of vengeance among the Christian forces<sup>251</sup>, cause instances of a sympathetic

attitude at first to recede before the antagonism shown by both sides in attempts to increase their personal knightly reputation and to find favour with their ladies. The Christian warriors are confronted with excellent warriors, who are their equal in terms of physical knightly excellence, and the fall of those heathen princes who are killed in the battle is sorely lamented (Wh. 421,2-17). Even in defeat, the chivalric virtues of the heathen Fabors, Kanliun and Ehmereiz are stressed (Wh. 435,18-25). Nevertheless, the final battle is fought in a spirit of animosity kept alive by the memory of Vivianz, by the religio-political motivation of the battle and by the desire for spiritual and material reward on the part of the Christian warriors. The defeat of the heathen, in which Rennewart's freeing of the Christian prisoners is instrumental, is also quite clearly seen as a temporary victory:

Tîbaldes lant und des wîp	<u>Wh.</u> 457,17
dû hâs, dar umme manegen lîp	
noch gein uns wâgen sol sîn vâr.	
dû weist wol, über sehs jâr	457,20
sprach al der heiden admirât	
sîn samenunge, diu nû hât	
unser verh hie niht gespart.	

Only after victory does it become clear, however, that Gyburg's appeal before the battle has born some fruit. The heathen princes have not been destroyed as evil, but rather prisoners have been taken who will serve in exchange for the missing Rennewart, should he have been captured<sup>252</sup>:

er dete ze sînen handen	<u>Wh.</u> 461,5
swaz ûz al der heiden landen	
der hōhen was gevangen dâ.	

Willehalm frees Matribleiz out of respect for him as a heathen warrior and as a relative of Gyburg<sup>253</sup>:



for Gyburg's kinsman<sup>255</sup>. But his sign of respect for Terramer does not go as far as to renounce Gyburg or his Christian beliefs:

des genāde und des hulde	Wh. 466,8
ich gerne gediende, torste ichs biten,	
swie er gebüte, wan mit den siten	466,10
daz ich den hoesten got verkür	
und daz ich mīnen touf verlür	
und wider gaebe mīn klarez wip.	

although he finally commends Matribleiz to God:

ich bevilhe iuch, künec Matribleiz,	Wh. 466,29
dem, der der sterne zal weiz	466,30
und der uns gap des mānen schīn.	467,1

6. The depiction of the heathen warrior in MHG crusading literature generally follows traditional medieval theology by insisting on the sacrament of baptism as the qualification for acceptance into the true Christian existence. The exemplary qualities of secular knights and their excellence as Minneritter find their sublimation among the Christians in a military service of God, and although these qualities may be present and accepted in heathen chivalry, they are generally to no avail without acceptance of the true religion. Otherwise, heathen warriors are depicted in the tradition of medieval exegesis and crusading historiography with a common fund of derogatory epithets headed by the cardinal sin of superbia.

In contrast, Wolfram's depiction of the heathen presents a certain advance on this traditional mode of depiction, although he, too, reverts to the Church's orthodox standpoint at times. His representation of heathen and Christian relationships, as embodied in Willehalm by Rennewart, Gyburg and Willehalm, and by the bāruc, Belakane, Gahmuret and to a certain extent Parzival and

Feirefiz in Parzival, should not be seen in terms of a spirit of "courtly tolerance"<sup>256</sup>. Wolfram rather depicts his heathen opponents in terms of a spirit of international knighthood, in which the values of chivalric excellence and Minne are valid on both sides. The religious difference in the acceptance or rejection of baptism is generally maintained, but both Belakane and Rennewart possess qualities which make the acceptance of baptism superfluous. Otherwise, the effect of the religious difference is minimised. The actual conflict between heathen and Christian is no less aggressive, and Christian knights are still able to gain salvation by combatting the heathen, but a spirit of magnanimity is introduced to the conflict which is lacking in the corresponding official crusading sources. The heathen warriors are no longer seen as evil to be destroyed, and the indiscriminate killing of the defeated enemy is a sin, because the Christian knight is called to emulate the spirit of mercy shown by God to his enemies. This magnanimitas is part of Wolfram's interpretation of the imitatio Christi of redemptive chivalry, and as such belongs to the knight's attempt to reconcile the demands of the secular knightly profession with those of God. Wolfram's ideas present a considerable advance on the rigid papal demands of the crusading knight of the 12th and 13th Centuries, although the changing religious trend towards a missionary approach to the heathen shows these ideas to be entirely medieval and orthodox.

Footnotes to Chapter 6

- 1 Cf. Die Kreuzzüge aus arabischer Sicht, p. 81.
- 2 Cf. J. Gauss, "Toleranz und Intoleranz zwischen Christen und Muslimen in der Zeit vor den Kreuzzügen", Saeculum 19 (1968), pp. 362-89, especially pp. 378 ff.
- 3 Ibid., p. 382.
- 4 Prutz, Kulturgeschichte, p. 74. The later, somewhat less polemical Tractatus de Statu Saracenorum by William of Tripoli, in Prutz's Beilage I, pp. 575 ff., presents a different attitude.
- 5 Cf. ibid., pp. 75 f.; also D. C. Munro, "The Western Attitude towards Islam during the Period of the Crusades", Speculum 6 (1931), pp. 329-43, especially pp. 331 f.
- 6 Prutz, Kulturgeschichte, pp. 76 ff.; Munro, Speculum 6 (1931), pp. 333 f.
- 7 St. Augustine, De Civitate Dei, XIV, 28, quoted in Stein, Die Ungläubigen, p. 11.
- 8 See above, Chapter 1, pp. 72 f.
- 9 Stein, Die Ungläubigen, p. 11; cf. also Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 60 ff.
- 10 See above, Chapter 3, pp. 239 ff.; cf. also Waas, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, I, pp. 89 ff.
- 11 Quoted in Prutz, Kulturgeschichte, p. 507. Cf. also p. 48 and Munro, Speculum 6 (1931), p. 329.
- 12 Prutz, Kulturgeschichte, pp. 45 f.; the contact between Islamic and Christian culture was most prominently felt in Spain and Sicily: cf. for later developments Runciman, History, III, pp. 355 ff.
- 13 Prutz, Kulturgeschichte, pp. 62 f.
- 14 Cf. the humorous account of Frankish medical practice in Die Kreuzzüge aus arabischer Sicht, pp. 118 f.; also, Munro, Speculum 6 (1931), p. 336.
- 15 Prutz, Kulturgeschichte, pp. 63 f.; Munro, Speculum 6 (1931), pp. 338 f.; cf. also Runciman, History, III, pp. 52 ff.; Die Kreuzzüge aus arabischer Sicht, pp. 185 ff.; Waas, Geschichte, I, pp. 379 ff.
- 16 Prutz, Kulturgeschichte, pp. 69 ff.
- 17 Ibid., pp. 63 f.
- 18 Runciman, History, III, pp. 473 f.
- 19 Cutler, Muslim World 56 (1968), p. 60, maintains that "there is concrete evidence that from the very beginning



the idea of 'conversion' was alive among the Crusaders." However, the bulk of his evidence rests on interpretation and hypothesis, and many of his quotations could equally support the relentless persecution of the heathen pre-dominant at this time.

- 20 Cf. De Consideratione III, MPL 182,759 C ff.
- 21 Prutz, Kulturgeschichte, p. 65; cf. Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica, II, ii, qu. X, art. VIII, (Divi Thomae Aquinatis a Leone XIII P.M. Summa Theologica ad emendationes editiones impressa, II, ii, X, 8, Rome, 1886, pp. 100 f.); also p. 469, and notes 204 f., below.
- 22 Munro, Speculum 6 (1931), pp. 339 ff.; S. Runciman, "The Decline of the Crusading Idea", in Relazioni del X congresso internazionale di scienze storiche, Tome III, storia del medioevo (ed. G. P. Bognetti), Florence, 1955, pp. 637-52, especially pp. 650 ff.
- 23 Runciman, History, III, pp. 159 f.
- 24 Cf. above, note 4.
- 25 Runciman, in Relazioni, III, pp. 644 ff.
- 26 Ibid., pp. 642 f.; cf. Runciman, History, III, pp. 255 ff.
- 27 Schwerin, Die Aufrufe der Päpste, pp. 40 f., 53 ff.
- 28 Cf. above, Chapter 4, pp. 301 ff.
- 29 Cf. above, Chapter 4, pp. 339 ff., and Chapter 5, pp. 397 ff.
- 30 Cf. above, Chapter 3, pp. 267 ff.; Schwerin, Die Aufrufe der Päpste, pp. 53 f.; Rousset, Les Origines, pp. 59 f. et passim; etc.
- 31 Gesta Francorum, p. 23 (IV, x); cf. Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 353 E f.; Baldric of Dol, RHC IV, 13 C f.; Fulcher of Chartres, RHC III, 323 F - 324 A; etc.
- 32 MCH SS VI, 213, 1-4.
- 33 RHC IV, 603 A; cf. also, 608 D; etc.
- 34 Gesta Francorum, p. 52 (IX, xxi).
- 35 Ibid., pp. 52 f. (IX, xxi); cf. the words by Kerboqa's mother, ibid., p. 54 (IX, xxii).
- 36 RHC IV, 319 G.
- 37 Hempel, Übermuot, pp. 23 ff. et passim; more explicit reference to pride, arrogance, anger, godlessness, etc., will be made later in this chapter.
- 38 Cf. the heathen persecution of Christians and destruction of Christian territory in Kchr. 6600-3; 7214-17; 11158-62;

15590-5; 15624-9; 15782-6; 15772-83; 15925-31; 16349-53; 16518-21; also Vespasian's concern with personal honour and vengeance in Kchr. 5165 f.; etc.

- 39 Cf. RL 423; 430; 437; 2106-9; 2169; 3613 f.; 3629; 3701 f.; 3757 f.; 5307; 5425 f.; 7215-17; 8024; 8029; etc.
- 40 Cf. RL 2128-32; 2555; 3568-72; 3622 f.; 3649; 3684 f.; 4387-9; 4622 f.; 4719-22; 5047-51; 5079 f.; 5224-7; 5459-65; 5655 f.; 5866 f.; 6784-90; 8325-31; etc. The heathen are even concerned that Genelun should not be able to boast of his conduct in the heathen camp, RL 2142-5, and maintain that his aid will bring them the honour in battle, RL 2155 f.
- 41 Cf. RL 5307 f.
- 42 Cf. RL 3662 f.; 3676-80; 5220-3; 5852; etc.; also, above, Chapter 2, pp. 169 ff.
- 43 Cf. RL 4246 ff. and above, Chapter 4, p. 328.
- 44 Cf. above, Chapter 4, pp. 327 ff.
- 45 RL 519-25; 530; 1137, etc.; cf. Richter, Kommentar, I, p. 130.
- 46 Cf. above, Chapter 3, pp. 268 ff.
- 47 Cf. RL 4223-5; 4288; 4373; 4376-9; 4492-4; 4549; 4592 f.; 4598 f.; 4601; 4613; 5734 f.; 7173-9; 8407-9; etc.
- 48 Cf. RL 4879-86; 7363 f.; also Ashcroft, The Exemplary Depiction of Character in Konrad's Rolandslied, p. 439.
- 49 Cf. RL 5536 f.; etc.
- 50 Cf. Backes, Bibel und Ars Praedicandi, p. 129, where the parallels to Gideon are made clear. The splendour of Roland's armour is validated by the sign of the Cross, RL 3279-3334.
- 51 Cf. RL 8123-7 and 7896-7902.
- 52 Cf. above, Chapter 4, pp. 352 f.
- 53 RL 3585-7; 3601-5; 3800-3; 5196 f.; 5305 f.; 5432; 5668; 5713-17; 5849; 7396; 8094 f.; etc.
- 54 RL 1199; 1214 f.; 1384-7; 1403; 1444-52; 1459-61; 1690-5; 1713-16; 1887-93; 2566 f.; 3091-4; etc.
- 55 RL 1384 ff.; 1445 ff.; Genelun is aware of the consequences of his treachery for his own soul: RL 2742 f.
- 56 RL 8744 ff.; cf. 1421 f.; 1464 ff.; 1400 ff.; 1645 ff.; 8796; etc.
- 57 Cf. Richter, Kommentar, I, p. 255.

- 58 Cf. RL 2513-16 and Mark xiv, 21; Matth. xxvi, 24; Luke xxii, 22; also the proverbial association in RL 1956-9 - cf. Bartsch's edition, p. 82; also for an analysis of Konrad's homiletic description of Genelun in RL 1953-74, Murdoch, Euph. 67 (1973), pp. 372-7.
- 59 Cf. also RL 1107 and 1138, where his main concern is the personal honour of the Christians, not the honour due to God.
- 60 Cf. Wh. 19,18-27, where the contrast to the heavenly reward gained by the Christian army in Wh. 19,28 f., is clearly made; the heathen warriors are often presented in their external splendour as Minneritter: cf. Wh. 22,26-9; 29,27-30,2; 34,30-35,2; 54,27-55,6; 55,15-21; 75,21-5; 99,4-7; 353,19-21; 356,3-357,10; 360,13-18; 362,10 f.; 364,14-30; 365,26 f.; 366,4-15; 367,26 f.; 372,27-30; 373,10; 376,1-377,30; 379,24, 27 f.; 381,14; 382,17-23; 386,11-387,5; 388,6 f.; 393,28-394,5; 394,27-395,1; 398,10-13; 400,23-401,11; 403,23-30; 408,18-21; 409,18-30; 411,4 f.; 417,29 f.; 428,16-18; 429,18; 431,13-17; 444,8-19; 447,14-21; 447,26-448,10; 464,8-465,5; etc.; cf. Prutz, Kulturgeschichte, pp. 45 ff..
- 61 Cf. Wh. 373,16-20; 397,28-30; 436,12 f.; etc.
- 62 Cf. Hempel, Übermuot, p. 23, et passim; also Wh. 23,26-9.
- 63 Cf. Wh. 18,2-7; etc.; even Kennewart is motivated by a desire to win fame in battle, e. g. Wh. 270,28; 296,5; etc.
- 64 Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 65 ff.
- 65 Cf. also Wh. 11,6-11; 39,6 f.; 43,12-15; 44,12-19; 47,9-13; 97,3-5; 98,28-30; 107,23-5; 336,4-6; 342,10-12; 343,1-14; 350,2 f., 8 f.; 351,1 f.; 367,1-4; etc.
- 66 Cf. Wh. 46,13 f.; 336,26 f.; 338,5-8; 339,24-8; 340,2 f.; 340,30-341,3; 347,13; 351,10; 371,1 f., 7 f., 10; 374,12 f.; 392,18 f.; 409,7-12; etc.
- 67 Cf. Wh. 362,18 f., 23; 353,9, 18 f.; etc.
- 68 Cf. the poet's reference to roupgalinen in Or. 422.
- 69 W. Mohr, ("Zum frühhöfischen Menschenbild in 'Graf Rudolf'", ZfdA 96 (1967), pp. 97-109, especially p. 98) points out that the subsequent execution of these hostages does not polarise the Christian and heathen positions, but a truce between Rudolf and Girabobe is arranged shortly afterwards. In this way, the proximity to crusading reality of the poem becomes evident.
- 70 De Boor, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, II, p. 38.
- 71 Cf. the same motif with Mercian and Sudan in Or. 912-21.
- 72 Or. 1212-83; cf. particularly the use of the adjectives keiserlich (Or. 1236) and hoveliche (Or. 1243) as well as

the adverb keiserlichen (Or. 1288); also the description of the heathen Pelian in Or. 2025-9. Cf. for Orendel's restraint, Chapter 4, pp. 329 f.

- 73 Cf. D. H. Green, The Millstätter Exodus, a Crusading Epic, Cambridge, 1966, and the critical reviews of this work by E. Papp in PBB (T) 89 (1967), pp. 356-63 and W. Schröder in MLR 64 (1969), pp. 334-9.
- 74 Die Altdeutsche Exodus (AEx.), ed. E. Papp, Munich, 1969 (Altdeutsche Texte in kritischen Ausgaben, 2); cf. also Stein, Die Ungläubigen, p. 20. The appropriate passage in the Latin Vulgate refers merely to the assembly of Pharaoh's forces: Exodus xiv, 8 f. The German poet emphasises the characteristic heathen sin of pride and points to the inevitability of Pharaoh's defeat in view of God's judgement on the heathen: AEx. 3042; 3046.
- 75 Green, The Millstätter Exodus, pp. 97 f.; cf. also pp. 166 f.
- 76 Otto of Freising, Chronik, p. 510, 18-24 (VII, 7).
- 77 Gesta Francorum, pp. 66 f. (IX, xxviii).
- 78 MPL 182,653 B f.
- 79 Cf. Gesta Francorum, pp. 4 (I, ii); 19 (III, ix); 20 (III, ix); 22 (IV, x); 32 (VI, xiv); 40 (VII, xviii); 62 (IX, xxvi); 88 (X, xxxvii); William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum Anglorum, II, p. 394; Odo of Deuil, De Profectione Ludovici VII in orientem, p. 90; Robert the Monk, RHC III, 727 D; Rousset, Les Origines, pp. 104 f.; etc.
- 80 Gesta Francorum, p. 49 (IX, xxi).
- 81 Cf. Alexander III, MPL 200, 860 B f.
- 82 Cf. Noth, Heiliger Krieg, passim.
- 83 RHC IV, 13 B f.
- 84 Gesta Francorum, p. 67 (IX, xxviii).
- 85 Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis, ed. W. Stubbs, London, 1867 ff. (Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores, 49, i) Vol. I, p. 332; cf. also Gesta Francorum, p. 4 (I, ii); Albert of Aachen, RHC IV 420 E f.; Nicholas of Clairvaux, MPL 182,671 B f.; Otto of Freising, Chronik, p. 510, 11 f. (VII, 7); Alexander III; MPL 200,927 C and 1295 A; etc.
- 86 Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 479 B f.; cf. also 483 E; Gesta Francorum, pp. 25 (IV, xi); 47 (VIII, xx); 92 (X, xxxix); etc.
- 87 Fulcher of Chartres, RHC III, 324 C; cf. William of Tyre, RHC I, i, p. 40; Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 571 F - 572 A; Gesta Francorum, pp. 18 (III, ix); 42 (VII, xviii); 75 (X, xxxi); Ekkehard of Aura, MGH SS VI, 210,20 and 222,39 f.;

as early as 1074 Gregory VII had seen the heathen invasions in the East to be equal to the Devil's attempts to overcome Christianity: MPL 148,390 B f.

- 88 Cf. above, Chapter 4, pp. 315 f.
- 89 William of Tyre, RHC I, i, p. 41; cf. Gesta Francorum, pp. 31 (VI, xiii); 41 (VII, xviii); etc.
- 90 Hempel, Übermuot, pp. 188 ff.
- 91 RHC I, i, 40; cf. Hempel, Übermuot, p. 205 and notes 90 f.; also Psalm xxi, 16 f.; Matth. vii, 6; Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 312 f.; also the quotation from Haimo:  
     ... filii quondam Judaei fuerunt - canes vero gentiles  
     propter spurcitiae idolatriae ...  
 quoted in Stein, Die Ungläubigen, p. 18; Prutz, Kulturgeschichte, p. 58.
- 92 RHC IV, 13 B; cf. Rousset, Les Origines, p. 59.
- 93 Quoted in Stein, Die Ungläubigen, p. 39.
- 94 Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 381 G - 382 A; also 420 D; cf. the importance of baptism stressed by Guibert of Nogent: RHC IV, 138 G; Gesta Francorum, pp. 44 (VIII, xx); 66 (IX, xxviii); 71 (IX, xxix); 73 (X, xxx); 75 (X, xxxi); Eugene III, in Codex Diplomaticus Moraviae, I, p. 244; Odo of Deuil, De Profectione Ludovici in orientem, p. 2; Gregory VIII, MPL 202,1540 C; etc.
- 95 Cf. Gesta Francorum, p. 83 (X, xxxiv); also Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 518 D f.; etc.
- 96 Gesta Francorum, p. 52 (IX, xxi).
- 97 MPL 216,818 B.
- 98 Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 394 A f.
- 99 MGH SS VI, 223,6 f.; cf. Gesta Francorum, pp. 96 f. (X, xxxix).
- 100 Gesta Francorum, pp. 53 f. (IX, xxii).
- 101 Ibid., pp. 55 f. (IX, xxii).
- 102 MGH SS VI, 212,25 f.
- 103 Cf. Gesta Francorum, pp. 32 (VI, xiv); 77 (X, xxxiii); Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 398 B f.; 481 C; Fulcher of Chartres, RHC III, 323 F; Bernard of Clairvaux, MPL 182, 653 B; Martin of Pairis, MPL 212,227 B f.; Rousset, Les Origines, pp. 104 f.
- 104 RHC IV, 392 A f.; also, 390 E; 393 F; 597 B; Gesta Francorum, p. 66 (IX, xxviii); Ekkehard of Aura, MGH SS VI, 222,44 f.; Hadrian IV, in Kehr, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, NF 18 (1926), p. 361; etc.

- 105 RHC IV, 344 A; also 349 C; Gesta Francorum, p. 66 (IX, xxviii); Odo of Deuil, De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem, p. 6; etc.
- 106 Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, ed. G. F. Warner, Vol. VIII, London, 1891 (Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi Scriptores, 21, viii), p. 237.
- 107 MPL 214,264 D.
- 108 Cf. Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 347 E; 437 E f.; 571 C; etc.; also Prutz, Kulturgeschichte, pp. 131 and 509 (note to p. 59).
- 109 Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 552 F; 645 B; Gesta Francorum, pp. 16 (II, viii); 22 (IV, x); 28 (V, xii); etc.
- 110 Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 344 B; also, 287 G; 397 B f.; Gesta Francorum, pp. 36 (VI, xvii); 40 (VII, xviii); etc.
- 111 Cf. Kchr. 63-5; 607; 2255; 3579; 5647 f.; 9709; 9766 f.; 9775; 11341; 13070 f.; 14937; 17174; etc.
- 112 Cf. Kchr. 13091-3; 13441-4; etc.
- 113 Cf. Kchr. 2573; 4055; 10637; 10938; 11000; 11215; 12104; 13527; 14834; etc.
- 114 Cf. Richter, Kommentar, I, p. 131.
- 115 Cf. RL 35 f.; 951; 3465 f.; 4402-4; 7675; etc.
- 116 Cf. Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 171 ff.; Backes, Bibel und Ars Praedicandi, p. 146 (heilen).
- 117 Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 21 ff.
- 118 Cf. Genelun's false words to Karl in RL 2870-4, in which the pretended submission to Karl's political domination and the acceptance of Christian dogma and baptism are equally clearly expressed.
- 119 Cf. RL 351-7; 8631-4; 8637-40.
- 120 Cf. Richter, Kommentar, I, p. 228, and his footnote 374.
- 121 Cf. Backes, Bibel und Ars Praedicandi, p. 162 (rein).
- 122 Cf. pp. 467 ff.
- 123 H. Naumann, "Der wilde und der edle Heide", Vom Werden des deutschen Geistes, FS Gustav Ehrismann, Berlin, 1925, pp. 80-101, especially p. 80, overemphasises the dualism between heathen and non-Christian in the context of the Kaiserchronik; cf. Stein, Die Ungläubigen, p. 35; Ohly, Sage und Legende in der Kaiserchronik, pp. 126 ff.
- 124 Cf. Kchr. 8270 f.; 8276-8; 8552-5; 9396 f.; 9625; 11280-5; 11306-9; 14981-4; cf. also above, Chapter 1, pp. 110 ff. Many of the Emperors whose lives are described in the

Kaiserchronik are condemned as heathen, although they lived long before Christ's life on this earth. Such extreme sentiments are also to be found in contemporary Church sources: cf. Altdeutsche Predigten, I, pp. 149,36-150,7; also Stein, Die Ungläubigen, pp. 17 f.

- 125 MOsw. 2946; 2988-94; 3061-8; 3100-4; 3116-22; 3130-2; 3150-8; 3162-6; 3175-84; etc.
- 126 WOsw. 234 f.; 388-96; 472-4; 480-8; 520-3; 528 f.; 1007-10.
- 127 Cf. WOsw. 1011-22; 1092-6; 1327-35; also 1259-61; 1291-6; 1300-5; 1427-33; 1434-7.
- 128 Cf. WOsw. 1193-7; 1306-9.
- 129 Cf. the baptism of Salme, which is connected with her marriage to Salman, SuM 4,2 f.; also Pelian's army is seen as ein ungedoufte diet, SuM 753,1.
- 130 Cf. SuM 579,1-591,6; also 433,3-5.
- 131 Cf. above, Chapter 1, pp. 113 f.
- 132 Further instances of the importance of baptism abound: e. g. Or. 953 f.; 2420-2; 2859-61; 2927-33; 3150-3; etc.
- 133 GR Gb 1-31; cf. GR E 1 - Eb 9, where, unlike the Oswald legend, no mention is made of any desire for baptism of any secret belief in Christianity.
- 134 Parz. 813,9-818,30; cf. also 454,27 f. In the fight between Parzival and Feirefiz, Wolfram constantly refers to the one as Christian and to the other as heathen, although no real criticism is attached to the latter label in this situation (Parz. 735,1 ff.).
- 135 E. g. Wh. 8,28; 32,24; 242,6; 358,6. For further references see Collected Indexes to the Works of Wolfram von Eschenbach, p. 219; cf. also Wolfram's reference to the Scottish forces in Parz. 31,16.
- 136 Cf. Wh. 48,15-21.
- 137 Cf. Wh. 7,27-8,1; 31,4-7; 220,29-221,1; 298,21-3; Wolfram's view on love and the rôle of the father (Wh. 11,19-23) are also of interest from the secular point of view.
- 138 Cf. Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 143 ff.
- 139 Cf. Wh. 100,28-101,2; 102,14-17; 291,14-16; 310,1-4; etc.
- 140 Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, p. 74.
- 141 Kchr. 8638 f.; cf. Kchr. 10052 ff., where both heathen and Jew are characterised alike by the sin of pride.
- 142 Cf. Stein, Die Ungläubigen, p. 29; Kchr. 8574-10380.
- 143 Ibid.

- 144 Cf. Tulasiewicz, Index Verborum, p. 117; Kchr. 1843 refers to the Roman disbelief in the miracles of Christ, all other references are to heathen gods or idols.
- 145 Kchr. 8166-82; cf. Isaiah xliv, 6 ff. and Ps. cxv, 4 ff.
- 146 Cf. above, Chapter 1, p. 114.
- 147 Richter, Kommentar, I, p. 25.
- 148 E. g. RL 1997-2000; 2275 f.; 2559 f.; 3607; 3617; 4685-7; 7049-52; 7273 f.; 8134-9; 8378-80; etc.
- 149 Cf. RL 3393-3464 and 3465-3539; also the terse contrast of religious preparations in RL 5278 f.
- 150 Cf. RL 4162-6; 6313-5; 6417; 7135-47; 7265 f.; 7277-80; 7284-90; 8372; etc.
- 151 Cf. RL 4182-5; 4472; etc.
- 152 RL 4070-2; 4173-8; 4180 f.; 4186-8; 8274-6; 8487; etc.
- 153 Cf. Kchr. 2061; 2074; 2129; 2200; 2329; 2546; 3014; 3935; 3975; 3992; 4001; 4004; 4039; 4068; 4074; 4161; 4212; 4245.
- 154 Parz. 13,25-14,2; 17,5-8; 36,20; 102,1-8; 107,17-28.
- 155 Szklenar, Studien zum Bild des Orients, p. 146, note 8; Stein, Die Ungläubigen, p. 44.
- 156 Cf. MOsw. 916-20; 922-4; 961 f.; 969 f.; 2526; 2948-52; 2996-3010; WOsw. 237-9; 397-402; 474a-478 (here the poet regards the heathen religion as monotheist); SuM 34,4 f.; 36,4 f.; 201,1-202,2; 322,1-3; 569,3-5; GR C 15-18.
- 157 Parz. 21,6-8; 27,6 f.; 42,18-20; 45,1 f.; even Feirefiz calls on his gods in stereotype phrases: Parz. 748,13-20. Wolfram's only explicit criticism of the heathen is after the death of Gahmuret in Parz. 105,16 f.; cf. Stein, Die Ungläubigen, p. 64.
- 158 Cf. Wh. 338,1-3, 9-19; 340,6-8; 345,11-13; 354,10-13; etc.
- 159 Cf. Wh. 109,17-21.
- 160 Cf. Stein, Die Ungläubigen, p. 73; Kchr. 8200 ff.
- 161 Cf. Wh. 217,12-14; 350,4 f.; 354,17-22; in her long speech to Willehalm's father, Gyburg reveals that the heathen had even tried to offer material rewards and riches to persuade her to renounce the Christian religion; Wh. 256,14-258,14.
- 162 Wh. 358,10-15, 18-20; 360,24-28; 383,15-18; 404,12-15, 18-21; cf. above, pp. 452 ff.
- 163 Cf. Kchr. 11260 f.; 16357 f.; 16702 f.; 16709-11; 16637 f.; 16676-8; RL 1031-6; 3388-92; 4058-61; 4167-72; 4421-30; 4526-35; 4627; 5158; 5421-3; 5558-61; 6176-8; 6536-8; 8001 f.; 8210-14; 8309 f.; WOsw. 1242-8; MOsw. 2929-36; Or. 689;



- 1749-66; 1982; 2103-6; 2112-15; 2131 f.; 2350 f.; 2952 f.; SuM 774,1-3; GR 5 17-32; C 1-4; Cb 24-34; Roth. 4064-7; 4273-6; HE 3634-6; 5580 f.; etc.
- 164 cf. Wh. 150,16 f.; 436,4-6; etc.
- 165 Kchr. 174 f.; 205-7; 2477; 2506; 2509; 2544; 2547; 6591-5; 8034-6; 8144-6; cf. Kaplowitt, Influences and Reflections, I, p. 17.
- 166 Cf. Kchr. 6445 f.; 6450; 8657-9; 10912-17; 11199-11201; 13486-8; 14256; etc.
- 167 For the allegorical meaning of these terms from biblical exegesis, see Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 27 ff. Cf. also RL 249; 3170-5; 3380; 3513-15; 3909-12; 4440; 4604-11; 5345; 5738 f.; 6349-53; 7060 f.; 7066-9; 8457; etc.
- 168 Cf. God's curse on the earth after Adam's Fall and the symbolical purification in the Flood, which recalls the sacrament of baptism (Gen. iii, 17; viii, 21); the heathen have neither shared in the purification of the Flood nor in the ceremony of baptism or Redemption. Richter, Kommentar, I, p. 313; Backes, Bibel und Ars Praedicandi, pp. 133 (erde); 176 (vervluochen).
- 169 Cf. RL 60-3; 3876-9; 4254-60; 4744-9 (cf. Exodus, xiv, 26 ff.); 8151-7; etc.
- 170 Cf. RL 3166; 3531; 3877; 4691; 4963; 5405; 5836; 6250; 7172; 7439; 8402; 8594; etc. Kchr. 5227; 16321; 16723; also above, Chapter 1, note 239.
- 171 Cf. RL 304; 951-8; 4692 f.; 8484-8; the words of Brechmunda reveal this same association of heathen beliefs with the Devil: RL 8599-8604; 8625-30.
- 172 RL 62-4; 345-7; 870 f.; 4050-2; 4411 f.; 4450 f.; 4578-81; 4654 f.; 4757-60; 4921 f.; 4990-2; 5318; 5658-61; 5973 f.; 6367-71; 7676; 7699-7706 (cf. Kchr. 6408; Ps. xxxiii, 22); 7763 f.; 8194 f.; 8506-10; 8582; 8654 f.; in the same way Konrad represents Genelun's treachery as the work of the Devil, and Binabel's later support for him as earning the soul's damnation: RL 1979; 2365 f.; 2453 f.; 2854-8; 3101-9; 6121-8; 8855-8; 8968-72; Genelun's treachery is against God, and God himself decides on his fate: RL 8834-7.
- 173 Or. 2024; cf. Or. 2771; 3291; also the slight association of the heathen and the Devil in Or. 3562 f.; 3663 f.
- 174 Cf. Or. 2153-6; 2359-65.
- 175 Wolfram has Bertram of Berbesten announce the same fate for the imperial army before the second battle of Alischanz, should they refuse to render God the service he now requires of them: Wh. 303,11-22. In the Oswald legend, the Raven's condemnation of the heathen servant at the court of the heathen king, while couched in humorous language, reveals the same tendency for the association of the heathen and the Devil: MOsw. 850-6.

- 176 Sum 210,5 f.; 493,2 f.; 514,2; Roth. 883; 1152; 3227; 4264-6; ualant rapidly becomes a narrative device in heroic poetry: cf. NL 1394; 1748; 2371; etc.
- 177 Cf. Wh. 38,25-30; 110,21-8; even the heathen leader Terramer is aware of the dangers of Hell for his own soul: Wh. 219,13-15.
- 178 Cf. Stein, Die Ungläubigen, pp. 18, 21 f., 39.
- 179 Altdeutsche Predigten, II, 62,40-63,7; cf. Stein, Die Ungläubigen, p. 18.
- 180 Cf. above, p. 459 and note 163; Hempel, Übermuot, pp. 202 f.
- 181 Cf. Kchr. 4100; 5529; 6605; 10588; 12358; 12546; 13304; 16315; RL 2656; 4837; 7138; 7267; 8420; MOsw. 782; Wh. 35,16; 58,15-20.
- 182 freissam - cf. RL 2679; 3766; 6414; 8004; 8189; 8450; WOsw. 91; 141; 1190; Or. 806; 1207; 1568; 1589; 1871; 1894; etc. wild - cf. MOsw. 1735; 2154; 2278; 2725; etc. ubel - cf. RL 3765; 5492; 6346; Sum 63,5; 73,4; 76,5; 108,2; 556,4; etc. grimmig - cf. RL 3767; 4735; MOsw. 813; WOsw. 1160; etc. Cf. also RL 4460; Or. 1722; etc.
- 183 Cf. Wh. 35,3-9; 70,15-17; 98,2; 351,16 f.; 395,23; 397,1; 409,18 f.; 425,25-426,30; 430,1-4; similarly, the strangeness and darkness of the Moors is clearly brought out in Parz. 17,24 f., and 51,24. Wolfram's use of the symbolism of black and white is most clearly seen in the figure of Feirefiz himself: e. g. Parz. 747,25 ff. (Cf. C. Gray, "The Symbolic Rôle of Wolfram's Feirefiz", JEGP 73 (1974), pp. 363-74). Cf. also AEx. 3043; 3060; 3198; 3256 (cf. Stein, Die Ungläubigen, pp. 19 f.); the peculiar peoples encountered by Herzog Ernst in HE 2930 ff.; 4669 ff.; 4822 ff.; 5015 ff.; etc., while presenting instances of this same attribute of strangeness, are also reminiscent of Oriental fairy tales (cf. Schröder, Spielmannsepik, p. 42).
- 184 Cf. above, Chapter 3, pp. 267 ff.; Kchr. 14917-19; etc. RL 5280-3; 7250 f.; etc. MOsw. 303-9; 1022; 1107-11; 2470; 2685-92; 2708; 2761-70; 3011; etc. WOsw. 1188-92; etc. Cr. 3406 f.; etc. Wh. 28,21; 363,20; etc.
- 185 Cf. RL 7995-8; etc. HE 2818-27; 3370-6; 3390 f.; etc. L 77,21; etc. Wh. 12,27-9; 17,23-5; 29,22 f.; 34,6 f.; 40,1-7; 41,4-7; 71,10; 372,1-4; 427,2 f.; Wolfram also applies similar epithets to Christian battle sounds: Wh. 316,16 f.; 397,7 f.; etc. Cf. also references to gelf in Hempel, Übermuot, pp. 118 ff., and Stein, Die Ungläubigen, p. 20 and note 24.
- 186 RL 507; cf. RL 2086 - ironically in the mouth of Genelun.
- 187 RL 1921-9; 1936-9; 1943; 1953 f.; 1960-74 (cf. Richter, Kommentar, I, pp. 274 ff.); 1983-90; 2339; 2375-99 (cf. Psalm cviii); 2414 f.; 2514 f.; 2535-7; 2653; 6102-7;

- 6125-8; 6285; 8774-8; 8838 f.; 8972; this faithlessness is further heightened by Karl's words when first deceived by Genelun: RL 2895 f.
- 188 Hempel, Übermuot, pp. 117 ff. The epithet vermezzen, despite its overall positive tendency in early MHG sources, is predominantly negative in RL and Kchr.
- 189 Cf. Kchr. 16647-9.
- 190 Cf. Kchr. 180; 3436; 5068; 8464 f.; 8804 ff.; 10053 f.; 10058-63; 11312; 11344 f.; 13108; 14060; 14853 f.; 15690-4; etc.
- 191 Cf. RL 289 f.; 294 f.; 380; 2596; 2602; 3361-8; 3475-8; 3506-12 (cf. Chapter 4, note 72); 4009-12; 4016; 4488; 4604; 4611; 4667; 4704 f.; 4742 f.; 4885 f.; 5241; 6536; 7155; 7363 f.; 7641; also the same epithet is used of Binabel in RL 8826 f.; 8844 f.; etc.
- 192 Cf. HE 4516; 4692; 4723; etc. SuM 22,2-5; 43,1 f.; 76,1-3; 81,2; 102,3; etc. Or. 406-8; 414; etc. MOsw. 236-8; 2200-4; etc.
- 193 Cf. Wh. 44,1; 228,16 (where Gyburg mistakes Willehalm for a heathen knight); 377,2 f. (Hempel, Übermuot, does not mention the epithets gogel or guft (Wh. 379,14)); 418,16 f. (the likening of Halzebier to a wild boar is an instance of medieval animal symbolism, in which allegory and biblical exegesis combine; cf. Hempel, Übermuot, p. 206; also, RL 4879).
- 194 Cf. RL 307-12; 4000; 4904; 5182-4; 5388 f.; 5535; 5549; 5606-8; 5808-10; 6255-7; 6315; 6324 f.; 7057-9; etc. SuM 75,4 f.; 573,1-3; 763,3-5; etc. Or. 1114 f.; 1434 f.; 1732-4; etc. Also the contrast of heathen and Christian attributes in Kchr. 6133-42; the nakedness of the heathen in HE 5562; the association of the heathen with magic in MOsw. 2695 f. and SuM 92,3-5; the heathen self-denigration in GR Cb 43-51; the description of the heathen courtier in MOsw. 843 f.; Walther's criticism of the heathen opponents to the Crusaders in L 10,14-16; Wolfram's criticism of the heathen camp after they have left it in Wh. 240,5-12; his criticism of Poydus for unknighly conduct in attacking Gyburg in Wh. 82,28-83,3; the complaints of the fleeing imperial army in Wh. 324,4-7; etc.
- 195 Cf. Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 217 f.; Runciman in Relazioni, III, pp. 641 ff.
- 196 Cf. Runciman, in Relazioni, III, pp. 650 ff.; Munro, Speculum 6 (1931), pp. 339 ff.
- 197 Tractatus de statu Saracenorum, XXVII ff., in Prutz, Kulturgeschichte, pp. 591 ff.
- 198 Gesta Francorum, p. 21 (III, ix); cf. the praise of her son's knightly qualities by Kerboqa's mother in ibid., p. 53 (IX, xxii); also Albert of Aachen, RHC IV, 394 C - 395 B; 314 D; 397 B; etc.

- 199 Ed. W. Stubbs, London, 1864 (Rerum Britannicorum medii aevi scriptores, 38); for these, and further quotations, see also Prutz, Kulturgeschichte, p. 509, note to p. 57.
- 200 Prutz, Kulturgeschichte, p. 509.
- 201 De Consideratione III, 1; MPL 182,759 C.
- 202 Ibid., MPL 182,760 A.
- 203 Cf. Prutz, Kulturgeschichte, pp. 26 and 502 f.; Stein, Die Ungläubigen, p. 76; also the expressions of pity for the Moors and the final prayer in Osbernus, De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi, clxxxi f.; cf. Kaplowitt, Influences and Reflections, I, pp. 141 f.
- 204 II, ii, qu.X, art. viii, pp. 100 f.
- 205 Cf. Erdmann, Entstehung, p. 7 et passim.
- 206 Cf. Wenzel, Frauendienst und Gottesdienst, pp. 54 ff.
- 207 Ibid., pp. 90 f., 113 f.; in particular, the similarities of the courtly Minnesang and earlier Arabian lyric poetry, in which the rôle of the lady is presented in a similar manner, are noticeable; cf. de Boor, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, II, pp. 224 ff.; Waas, Geschichte, II, pp. 260 f.
- 208 H.-J. Kopitz, Wolframs Religiosität, Beobachtungen über das Verhältnis Wolframs von Eschenbach zur religiösen Tradition des Mittelalters, Bonn, 1959, pp. 190 f.
- 209 Cf. RL 5631-8.
- 210 Cf. RL 2599-2602; 2624-6; 2643 f.; 2663 f.; 2675; 4744-6; etc. Also Kchr. 7810 f.
- 211 Cf. RL 324; 3553; 3582 f.; 4755 f.; 4895-9; 5954 f.; 6260; 8035; 8070 f.; etc.
- 212 Cf. de Boor, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, II, p. 38.
- 213 Bumke, Wolfram von Eschenbach, pp. 52 f., sees a connection between the marriage of Belakane and Gahmuret at the beginning of the poem, and the baptism of Feirefiz, his marriage to Repanse de Schoye and the christianisation of the Orient by Prester John at the end of the poem (Parz. 822,28 ff.). The contrast between black and white in the symbol of the magpie (Parz. 1,3 ff.), present in Parzival's internal struggle between sin and grace, and externally in the conflict between Christianity and the heathen religion in the person and appearance of Feirefiz, is resolved at the end of the poem. Bumke's interpretation of the marriage between Gahmuret and Belakane as "... eine vorchristlich-urzeitliche Heidenwelt ..., in der den Menschen, die noch nicht von Gott wissen, der Heilsweg sola fide offensteht, ..." is in line with his interpretation of the rôle of Rennewart in Willehalm on purely functional lines (Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 39 ff.; cf. also notes 236, 240 and 243 below), and

takes no consideration of Wolfram's views of the sacrament of marriage (cf. Koppitz, Wolframs Religiosität, pp. 141 ff.) or of his tolerant attitude towards his heathen characters. Koppitz (op.cit., p. 187) points out that the principle of Begierdetaufe, in which the sacrament of baptism could be replaced by the desire for it, became prominent in the 12th Century, and Belakane explicitly expresses her willingness to be baptised (Parz. 57,6 ff.).

- 214 K. Klooche, "Giburg. Zur altfranzösischen Wilhelmsepik und Wolframs 'Willehalm'", in Getempert und gemischt, FS Wolfgang Mohr, ed. F. Hundsnurscher and U. Müller, Göppingen, 1972 (Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 65), p. 124.
- 215 Cf. Wh. 22,22-5; 25,6-9; 26,9-13, 25-9; 27,26 f.; 36,20-2; 55,7-14; 76,18-21; 78,8-14; 85,28; 88,1; 97,24-6; 106,24 f.; 214,25; 341,21, 27-9; 344,24-6; 345,25-30; 346,4 f., 16 f.; 347,14 f.; 348,9-18; 349,1-6; 353,2 f.; 368,28-30; 378,15-23; 386,3; 387,5; 412,6-9; 427,14-22; etc.
- 216 Cf. Wh. 88,12-14; 361,10-25; 370,3-5; 379,14 f.; etc.
- 217 Cf. above, pp. 472 f.; also Chapter 4, pp. 319 ff.
- 218 Cf. Or. 1388-90; 2582 f.; 2586; 2589; 2597; 2817; 3129-32; 3251; 3584; 3611; the encounter between Orendel and the two heathen princes Mercian and Sudan in Or. 931 ff., illustrates a respectful attitude between Christian and heathen knight in the crusading context of Jerusalem. The intermingling of Christian and heathen in this city (e. g. Or. 3436-9) is characteristic of the situation in the Holy Land in the interludes between major Crusades: cf. Kaplowitt, Influences and Reflections, p. 80.
- 219 Stein, Die Ungläubigen, pp. 48 ff.; Kaplowitt, Influences and Reflections, pp. 62 ff.; S. J. Kaplowitt, "The heathens in Salman und Morolf", Archiv 213 (1976), pp. 95-9; I. Köppe-Benath, "Christliches in den Spielmannsepen König Rother, Orendel und Salman und Morolf", PBB (H) 89 (1967), pp. 200-54 (especially pp. 201-5; 227-34; 253 f.).
- 220 SuM 48,1-4; cf. MOsw. 2234; etc.; also Hempel, Übermuot, pp. 118 and 123.
- 221 Stein, Die Ungläubigen, p. 49; Kaplowitt, Archiv 213 (1976), p. 96.
- 223 Cf. the words by Fore's sister in SuM 474,1 f.
- 224 Cf. the fact that he allows Salman to blow his horn despite Salme's warnings: SuM 498,1-5; and his condemnation of Salme's faithlessness before his death: SuM 533,1-5.
- 225 Cf. Stein, Die Ungläubigen, p. 20.
- 226 Cf. ibid., pp. 58 f.; Kaplowitt, Influences and Reflections, pp. 94 f.; de Boor, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, II, pp. 36 ff.; Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 123 ff.; etc.

- 227 De Boor, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, II, p. 37.
- 228 GR  $\delta$  38 -  $\delta$  b9;  $\delta$  b36 f.; C 20-25, 50; Cb 4-9, 35-7; D 12 f.; Fb 21-4.
- 229 E. g. Wh. 21,4-10; 22,14-17; 27,12-17; 29,13-15, 20 f.; 45,10-22; 46,6-12; 67,28-30; 74,9 ff.; 76,8-10, 18-30; 294,7 f.; 310,9-16; 335,24-6; 341,6, 10; 342,8 f.; 343,1-3, 22-6; 344,10 f., 18-26; etc. Such epithets are in marked contrast to the inevitable defeat of the heathen army and their eventual flight: cf. Wh. 438,1-3, 14-20; 443,3-5; etc.
- 230 Cf. above, Chapter 2, pp. 136 ff.
- 231 Cf. stolz, Wh. 383,12 f.; 458,10; etc.; hōchgemuot, Wh. 98,9; 372,17 f.; vermezzzen, Wh. 94,23 (Kartschoke's edition, note to 94,23, p. 283); Hempel, Übermuot, pp. 117 ff.
- 232 Cf. Wh. 359,25-7; 360,3-5, 8-11; 382,13-6; 390,28 f.; 400,15-22; etc.
- 233 Cf. Naumann, FS Gustav Ehrismann, pp. 80 ff.; de Boor, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, II, pp. 119 f.; Wentzlauff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, p. 274; K. Schellenberg, "Humanität und Toleranz bei Wolfram von Eschenbach", WoJb 1952, pp. 9-27; for further literature, see Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, p. 153, note 24.
- 234 Koppitz, Wolframs Religiosität, p. 195; J. Richter, "Zur ritterlichen Frömmigkeit der Stauferzeit, I. Die Kreuzzugs-idee in Wolframs Willehalm", WoJb 1956, p. 29; W. Schröder, "Das epische Alterswert Wolframs von Eschenbach", Wolfram-Studien, Berlin, 1970, p. 214.
- 235 The words of Bernhart at the end of the poem indicate that the battle between Christian and heathen is not yet over: Wh. 457,17-19; cf. Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, p. 39.
- 236 Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 63 f., rejects any development in Willehalm's character throughout the poem; he points to the different situation of the two battles, where on the one hand Willehalm is motivated by a spirit of vengeance for Vivianz, and, on the other hand, as leader of the forces of the Christian Empire, has succeeded in defeating the claim to world domination by Terramer. The spontaneous reactions of vengeance and pity are to be explained from the situation of approaching defeat and pending victory. However, his explanation of such reactions as possessing purely functional validity in the structure of the poem detracts from the importance of Gyburg's appeal to spare the defeated heathen. Moreover, the motif of vengeance for Vivianz is kept very much alive during the second battle.
- 237 Lofmark, Rennewart in Wolfram's 'Willehalm', pp. 196 f. and 204; cf. Wh. 213,16-28, especially 27 f., where the "moment of suprarreligious understanding" (Lofmark, op.cit., p. 196) points to the unifying factor in Christian and heathen beliefs. The kiss binds Rennewart to the Christian

- cause and suggests a more intimate understanding between Christian and heathen in the future, although Aliscans presents a different ending from that perhaps envisaged by Wolfram: cf. Lofmark, op. cit., pp. 210 ff.; Mergell, Wolfram und seine französischen Quellen, I, pp. 175 ff.
- 238 Cf. Wh. 191,1-18; 193,16-22; 284,17-19; etc.; in Aliscans on the other hand, Rennewart is denied baptism: cf. Al 3271-3.
- 239 Wh. 388,24 f.; 430,26 f.; 442,20-3; his lack of knightly skill at the outset of the battle, when his club kills both heathen knight and horse (cf. Wh. 365,22-5), is an example of the same tumpheit exhibited by the young Parzival, cf. Parz. 124,15 f.; 153,21-155,11; etc.; Lofmark, Rennewart, pp. 147 ff.
- 240 Lofmark, Rennewart, pp. 210 ff., successfully refutes any suggestion that Rennewart's presence after the Christian victory is no longer structurally necessary in the poem.
- 241 Ibid., pp. 204 ff.
- 242 Cf. his calling on St. James of Compostela, Wh. 275,24-6; his reference to the enemy as heathen, Wh. 327,24 f.; the reference to his aristocratic birth, Wh. 276,14; etc.
- 243 Cf. Wh. 453,1-456,24; Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, pp. 43 f., sees Wolfram's reference to Rennewart as his brachium dextrum as a reflection of medieval clerical allegory, in which Rennewart represents the avenging fortitudo Dei which destroys the enemies of Christendom; here, as elsewhere (cf. above, note 240), Bumke imbues Rennewart with a purely functional rôle in the poem.
- 244 Lofmark, Rennewart, p. 205; here Lofmark does not exclude Rennewart's eventual leadership of the Christian Empire after his prospective marriage to Alyze at a later date; cf. op.cit., p. 206. Rennewart is thus comparable to Parzival, who finds the Holy Grail only after rebelling against God. to Gregorius, who becomes Pope after sinning greatly, to the Christian imperial army in Willehalm which showed zweifel like St. Peter before the battle (Wh. 332,8-20) but which was later decisive in the defeat of the heathen.
- 245 This is the same respect felt for Gahmuret in his adventures in the heathen East, and at times expressed in the Spielmannsepik, where the conflict between heathen and Christian is less important for the structure of the narrative, e. g. Mosw. 2248-52; etc. Similarly, Eckuba's praise for the Christian Parzival is an instance of the same spirit, Parz. 328,3-329,10.
- 246 Wolfram expresses the same sentiments in Parz. 43,4-8, where the valiant heathen warrior Razalic is seen to be worthy of God's pity, should he die unbaptised.
- 247 Cf. her appeal to take the defeated heathen prisoner in Wh. 300,23-7; also Kaplowitt, Influences and Reflections, pp. 128 ff. Cf. the innate value of Belakane, despite her



heathen religion: Parz. 28,11-13 and note 213, above; also he sees no valid difference between Parzival and his half-brother Feirefiz: Parz. 738,11 f. (cf. Stein, Die Ungläubigen, p. 67) and 740,3-6.

- 248 The Kaiserchronik contains an example of this same spirit of mercy to the defeated heathen in Kchr. 13415 f., and König Rother also contains a reference to the common creation of heathen and Christian and an appeal to spare the heathen in Roth. 1199-1203 (cf. Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm, p. 152 f., and note 20).
- 249 Wh. 307,1-11; cf. the eventual saving of Trajan's soul in Kchr. 6027-9.
- 250 Wh. 307,12-22, 25-30; 308,1-30; 309,1-4.
- 251 Cf. above, Chapter 4, pp. 353 ff.
- 252 Cf. Wh. 458,24-459,2; this is in marked contrast to the first battle, cf. Wh. 10,27-30.
- 253 Cf. Wh. 461,15.
- 254 Parz. 107,9-14; cf. Wh. 73,19-74,1, where Wolfram refers to this burial of Gahmuret in the context of Ehmereiz's relationship to the heathen bâruc.
- 255 Wh. 466,16-24; Willehalm's treatment of Matribleiz is similar to Orendel's freeing of Mercian in Or. 1522-5 and 1533-8.
- 256 Cf. above, note 233.



### Conclusion

The aim of this analysis of crusading concepts constituting the crusading idea in MHG poetry has been a three-fold one: it has been necessary to examine the extent to which MHG poets present a restrictive or an extensive view of the crusading expedition, and how far crusading concepts are included in accounts of battle against the heathen which are essentially unrelated to the historical epoch and arena of the Crusades; also, this study has aimed to isolate criteria which may be valid and necessary for reference to Kreuzzugsdichtung as a related group of poems within the bulk of MHG poetry. But these have been subsidiary to the main aim, which, by a process of historical analysis and of comparison of MHG texts with crusading propaganda and chronicles, has been to illustrate the understanding by MHG clerics and knightly poets of those aspects of crusading thought which together go to make up the crusading idea, and the way in which these poets consider such aspects to be of importance for their knightly public.

The various methods of representing crusading concepts in MHG poetry have been seen to fall into three main groups similar to the historical development of the crusading idea: concepts were adopted and integrated into crusading ideology from conventions and fields of medieval society which were essentially earlier than the First Crusade; MHG poets reflect the development of a number of concepts arising in a generic process from the religio-political momentum of the crusading idea; and MHG poetry presents

at the height of its development a number of concepts related to the crusading knight's opponents which are associated with medieval theological thought but go further than crusading propaganda and at times run contrary to it. The principle of the need to expand Christendom as God's kingdom on this earth, the duty of the medieval ruler to protect and extend the boundaries of the respublica christiana in direct responsibility to God, the importance of baptism as the only qualification which distinguished between Christian and non-Christian and as prerequisite for acceptance into the community of the Christian Empire, and the changing attitude by the medieval Church towards warfare and the military profession, are concepts which originate in the ideology of the imperial holy war. The feudal ordering of medieval society, based on the principles of military service by the vassal in return for adequate reward by the liege lord, imbued the crusading idea with the concept of a feudal God, to whom the crusading knight owed direct military service in return for heavenly reward, although ties of personal obligation remained equally valid, and the conflict between the principles of imperial feudalism and theocratic monarchy at times presents a problem for various MHG poets. In particular, the redemptive character of the crusading undertaking, the penitent spirit demanded of the Crusader, the penance necessary for his sins, the formal characteristics of the crusading vow, blessings and absolution, and the importance of both earthly and heavenly Jerusalem for the medieval Christian, are concepts belonging to the crusading idea which are adopted from the earlier but related institution of the pilgrimage. During the period of most

crusading activity, the development of the figure of the miles Christi and his necessary spirit of humility and rejection of worldly values, and the increasingly spiritualised view of the reward awaiting the Crusader for service of God, are characteristic of the growing crusading idea. At the same time as vernacular poets present these concepts in a completely traditional manner, they at times also associate them with praise of the martial talents inherent in their own profession and with the rewards of Minne and personal reputation central to the chivalric society of the High Middle Ages. The attitude of the medieval clergy towards non-Christians continued to be one of rejection, in view of the exclusiveness of the sacrament of baptism, and the traditional attributes of condemnation and religious censure, including the accusation of the cardinal sin of superbia, are reflected in MHG literature. But in line with the experience by crusading knights that the secular virtues of knightly excellence were also to be found among their Moslem opponents and in association with a changing attitude by certain clerics towards the missionary aim of Christianity, there arose the figure of der edle Heide<sup>1</sup>, of the heathen warrior characterised by the same exemplary secular values praised by MHG chivalric poets. In addition, at the climax of MHG literature achieved in the works of Wolfram von Eschenbach, the concept of Gotteskindschaft, and suggestions that baptism may, in certain circumstances, not be necessary for a heathen noble to be accepted both by Christians and by God, are examples of where a MHG poet has developed crusading concepts beyond the prevalent theological standpoint

of the medieval clergy.

It remains in these final pages to examine the results of the aims propounded at the outset. In particular, it will be necessary to analyse the extent to which MHG poets make use of a common vocabulary and phraseology to express their interpretation of the crusading idea and their depiction of it for their knightly audience; or, on the other hand, the extent to which their depiction of this idea involves an individual use of language, so that it has proved necessary to make more than a purely lexicographical analysis of the vocabulary and phraseology for crusading concepts to illustrate their method of presenting them.

2. Crusading expeditions during the 12th and 13th Centuries were characterised by a number of similar attendant circumstances: apart from the similarity of such formalistic declarations as the crusading vow, the formula for absolution, etc., and apart from the redemptive nature and the spiritual value of each undertaking for the individual participant, the aim of the Crusades was to free the Holy Sepulchre, the holy city of Jerusalem, and that part of the Orient which the Church saw to have been sanctified by Christ's life and ministry from occupation and desecration by the Moslems, so that the holiest places in the history of Christianity could be freed from any exterior influence, the indigenous Christians could practise their religion without let or hindrance, and the holy places could remain freely accessible for the masses of Western pilgrims desiring to make the journey of penance to the Holy Land. Although the crusading idea was

later extended to include the aim of expanding Christianity and the bounds of Christendom by force<sup>2</sup>, and was also adopted by feudal papal armies against the political enemies of the Papacy<sup>3</sup>, the importance of the geographical aim of the majority of crusading expeditions remained valid for the crusading idea in a spiritualisation of the picture of the holy city of Jerusalem<sup>4</sup>. A restrictive view of the Crusade therefore restricts such campaigns to the area of the Holy Land<sup>5</sup>, while an extensive view includes campaigns against enemies of Christendom outside these geographical limitations<sup>6</sup>.

In MHG crusading literature, the crusading idea exists primarily in its extensive interpretation. In France, not only do accounts of the crusading expeditions abound in medieval Latin sources, but the crusading idea and experience have a profound effect on the vernacular literature in respect of the depiction of contemporary historical events<sup>7</sup>. In Germany, there are few medieval Latin accounts of actual Crusades, and in vernacular literature the short sections of the Kaiserchronik (Kchr. 16618 ff., and 17248 ff.) are the only examples of the relating of actual crusading campaigns until the post-courtly epic poetry of the early 14th Century<sup>8</sup>. The action of much of the Spielemannsdichtung takes place in the Orient of the Crusades, and is concerned with the protection of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre, and with the destruction of heathen forces; reflections of historical campaigns are also recognisable within the epic framework of the poems<sup>9</sup>. However, much of the crusading material is associated with the additional motifs of Brautgewinnung, legendary

tales, lives of the saints, and Oriental fairy tales, and is included in the poems with no direct connection to the other motifs except to act as background and local colour: "Steht z. B. ein Kampf gegen Heiden bevor, so muß der Heerführer eine Kreuzrede an seine Mannen halten, mag das nun zum Übrigen passen oder nicht"<sup>10</sup>. In König Rother, the crusading arena is that of Constantinople, and Rother defends himself in the manner of the Crusade from attacks by the heathen Ymelot, but the crusading import is overlaid with the motif of Brautgewinnung and with a desire to illustrate the nature of universal emperorship in the figures of Rother and Constantine<sup>11</sup>. Ernst, in Herzog Ernst, sets out for the Holy Land and finally combats the heathen forces of Babylonia before Jerusalem (HE 5333-5698); but his adventures in the Orient are more akin to those of an adventuring knight, and the sense of penitence with which he sets out from Europe can only come to fruition by reconciliation with the Emperor as God's representative on this earth<sup>12</sup>; the main importance of the external framework of the poem, therefore, bases on imperial, rather than on crusading ideology. Both versions of the Oswald legend are similarly governed by the motif of Brautgewinnung and a desire to recount the legend of the saintly English king; the crusading motif is only present in Oswald's missionary purpose in an Oriental context. Even in Orendel, despite a continued desire by the Christian king and his bride to protect the Holy Sepulchre against heathen attack, the poet is equally concerned with the legend of the Cloak of Christ and with the theme of Brautgewinnung, although the poem captures the atmosphere

of crusading reality in the holy city more closely than others of the same genre. Nevertheless, Orendel is totally governed by divine will and has little hand in gaining his own salvation<sup>13</sup>. Although Salman und Morolf tells of the protection of Jerusalem (SuM 541,1-5; etc.) and of the conversion of the heathen, the theme of Brautgewinnung is the starting-point for various amusing adventures of Oriental origin, where the poet's main aim is to entertain. Graf Rudolf, in contrast, commences in the same way as a crusading campaign<sup>14</sup>, and the depiction of the situation in the Holy Land bears similarities to historical events<sup>15</sup>, but crusading fervour and animosity against the opponents of Christianity are replaced by a more objective attitude in the poet's depiction of the secular values of the heathen forces and by an ambivalent attitude towards the Christian forces in the Holy Land.

The crusading lyric presents examples of personalised appeals to the knightly public to involve itself in the crusading campaigns, and the freedom of Jerusalem is central to these appeals<sup>16</sup>. Nevertheless, this depiction of Jerusalem is more of a spiritual goal than a geographical one, and much of the antagonism against the Moslems retreats before the spiritualised view of the crusading idea and the value of participation for the individual knight's own salvation<sup>17</sup>. The episodes of the Kaiserchronik which depict battles against the heathen contain a mixture of concepts from crusading and imperial ideology: Heraclius is presented as a crusading miles Christi whose duty, like that of Karl, is at the same time rooted in the imperial tradition of the dilatio imperii christiani. It is in the

crusading epic, however, that the spiritualisation of the crusading idea is most necessary in its application to battles in the context of a holy war of expansion of the Carolingian Empire. Neither Konrad's Rolandslied nor Wolfram's Willehalm deals in any way with attempts to free the Holy Land, nor do they in any way represent an armed pilgrimage to a holy shrine. The responsibility for battle against the heathen rests in the imperial duty to protect and expand Christendom, and divine and imperial will are synonymous in the case of Karl, although Wolfram presents his successor Louis as a weak theocratic ruler, whose responsibility descends to Willehalm as vicarius imperatoris. However, the Christian armies in both poems are also presented as milites Christi, who bring the appropriate sacrifices in service of God and in return for individual salvation, although Wolfram's Christian warriors are also accorded the secular rewards of Minne and personal honour in battle.

The poetic representation of the crusading idea in MHG poetry thus incorporates the extension and spiritualisation of crusading concepts which we have seen to be part of the development within the Church's propaganda for successive campaigns. In particular, this spiritualisation of the crusading idea makes itself felt in the MHG epic in depictions of the concepts of redemptive chivalry and of the spiritual reward for earthly service of God, and in the crusading lyric in the personalised depiction of the spiritual value of the crusading experience for the individual knight. The restrictive view of the crusading idea inherent in the Oriental arena of the battles against the



heathen in the Spielmannsdichtung is subordinated to a group of other motifs more important for the epic framework of these poems. Modern research has therefore preferred to approach MHG crusading literature with an extensive view of the crusading idea<sup>18</sup>.

3. The above analysis of those crusading concepts inherited from other conventions and fields of medieval society and of those concepts developing with the crusading movement itself has proved useful to isolate individual concepts which constitute the crusading idea as a whole and the understanding of it by various MHG poets. Nevertheless, in analysing the material presented by MHG poetry with respect to the concepts of the one category, reference has constantly had to be made to the concepts characteristic of the other. An analysis of both the ideology of the imperial holy war and of the feudal ordering of society cannot be made without reference to the values necessary for an exemplary ruler and noble, and to the relationship between Emperor, knight and God, which have both also proved of equal importance for an analysis of the concept of redemptive chivalry and of the attitude of MHG poets towards non-Christians. Similarly, the characteristics of pilgrimage ideology have been of equal importance for the spiritualisation of the crusading task and of the reward available to the Crusader. MHG crusading poets make reference to such original concepts as those analysed in Part I of this study at times with their original import, at times in the context of their spiritualised use in a crusading situation. Thus, Karl

is presented as a theocratic monarch in the Rolandslied, whose sole duty it is to God to defend the kingdom of God on this earth. The Peers and the imperial army are vassals of the Emperor who bring him feudal service in the form of advice, military support and honour. However, the Peers and the Christian nobles are also exemplary milites Christi, full of the spirit of humility and self-sacrifice and conscious of the redemptive value of their battles against the enemies of Christendom, who owe allegiance direct to God as his chosen servants<sup>19</sup>. The divine judgement on Genelun at the end of the poem is necessary to restore the coincidence of imperial and divine will disrupted by Karl's acceptance of the Peers' decision to name Roland as leader of the Frankish rearguard, and also to avenge Genelun's betrayal of God's kingdom in heaven and his duty to God. In Willehalm, Vivianz represents the ideal figure of the crusading knight who accepts martyrdom in battle against the heathen; he also fights out of personal obligation to Gyburg and Willehalm, and in order to gain the rewards of Minne and personal reputation<sup>20</sup>. Willehalm is a Christian noble, whose Kreuzreden (Wh. 16,25-17,22; 319,28-320,30) contain appeals to the Christian knights characteristic of crusading propaganda; but Willehalm is also an imperial vassal of Louis and of Charlemagne before him, owing allegiance to Louis as Emperor and having no right to force him to render aid, although Louis is also seen to neglect his imperial duty towards Willehalm as protector of the Empire's borders. The weak theocratic position presented by Louis, and the transference of responsibility for battle with the heathen from

Emperor to noble, are examples of the crusading influence on the medieval view of kingship<sup>21</sup>. The Carolingian setting of the Rolandslied and Willehalm, and the presentation of the redemptive imitatio Christi undertaken by the Christian armies, present attempts by Konrad and Wolfram to combine the crusading idea with defence of the sacrum imperium, although Wolfram's implicit criticism of the crusading idea and his more favourable depiction of the heathen represent a considerable development over Konrad's more traditional representation of imperial and crusading concepts. This attempt to interpret the crusading idea in terms of imperial involvement was characteristic of German involvement in the Crusades, and also accounted for the primary concern of the German knighthood for the expansion of the Empire in Eastern Europe rather than for participation in campaigns to the Holy Land<sup>22</sup>.

In the same way, MHG poets constantly refer to feudal relationships between their knightly heroes, but the spiritualisation of the crusading idea involves the crusading knight in a personal and feudal relationship with God<sup>23</sup>. Also, the use of pilgrimage vocabulary to refer to the Christian knight has more literal or ironic import in the Spielmannsdichtung, but in the Rolandslied is a further instance of the spiritualised crusading idea<sup>24</sup>. This interlacing of concepts, and the interpretation of them in a literal and spiritualised manner by MHG poets, are responsible for the choice of MHG poems analysed in this study. Indeed, the choice is limited in terms of the latest work analysed by the climax of the spiritualised crusading idea in the work of Wolfram von Eschenbach,

completed at a time when the historical crusading idea was losing its spiritual appeal to Western knighthood, but including Wolfram's own defence of secular knightly values and his advanced interpretation of the proper attitude towards the heathen. Thus, despite the representative character of the poems examined, Wolfram represents the culmination of a development, after which the crusading idea becomes increasingly secularised and schematised both in historical reality and in its depiction in MHG literature<sup>25</sup>.

This study of crusading concepts has revealed that there exist side by side in MHG crusading poetry clear examples of the traditional medieval theological standpoint on the Crusades, as expressed by the Papacy and crusading preachers, and examples of the poetic attempts to interpret the crusading idea in the light of the poets' knightly background and that of the public for whom they are writing. In particular, the vocabulary and phraseology used to represent the concepts of redemptive chivalry, the heavenly reward awaiting the Crusader, and the religious censure of all non-Christians, exist alongside vocabulary and phraseology used to praise knightly qualities, to elaborate on material rewards of feudal obligation, Minne and the advancement of personal reputation, and to express a spirit of internationalism in the poetic representation of both Christian and Moslem chivalry similar to that expressed in crusading chronicles. For this reason, the above study of crusading concepts is of equal interest for literary critic and historian, because such poetic interpretations of the crusading idea represent contemporary examples of medieval religious and political understanding and of the importance

of this thought for a knightly public as seen by cleric and knight, despite the didactic purposes of individual poets. In addition, this analysis of the juxtaposition of orthodox clerical material with a poetic interpretation of the same is of further interest for the literary critic, in so far as the inherent dichotomy represents a further illustration of attempts to solve the wider problem facing medieval Christians - to reconcile success in this world with the demands of a Christian existence and the fear of jeopardising one's salvation in the next world<sup>26</sup>.

The second subsidiary aim of this study has been to examine the criteria for referring to Kreuzzugsdichtung as a collective term applicable to a group of related MHG poems, and the conclusions relative to the predominantly extensive view of the Crusade as exhibited by MHG poets are here equally valid<sup>27</sup>. Nevertheless, it is evident that references to "crusading literature" cannot be based on structural or formal criteria, because the different examples of lyric, epic and narrative poetry examined in this study present different though related emphases given to crusading concepts. The Rolandslied and Willehalm present a predominantly spiritualised view of the crusading idea; crusading lyric poems also include personalised appeals for individual campaigns; the Spielmannsdichtung and the Gahmuret episode of Parzival present crusading concepts as background for accounts of missions to gain a bride or of an adventuring knight; and the Kaiserchronik includes crusading concepts in its account of the missionary activity of various Emperors as part of the depiction of exemplary Emperorhip. The traditions of epic poetry

and the medieval understanding of historical documentation, as well as the poetic originality of cleric or knight, are equally influential on the presentation of the crusading material in these poems. In addition, the propagandistic aim and personalised method of presentation of much of the lyric poetry differs from the epic proportions and ostensibly less personalised method of presenting crusading concepts in the context of imperial holy warfare in the Rolandslied and Willehalm<sup>28</sup>. Legitimate reference to Kreuzzugsdichtung can also not be restricted to one language, because the similarity of crusading concepts in medieval Latin chronicles and propaganda has become evident in preceding chapters. It has not been the task of this study to compare MHG crusading literature with its counterparts in OF, Provengal or other European languages, although a comparison with the Chanson de Roland and Aliscans has at times been profitable when analysing the originality of Konrad and Wolfram. Moreover, the existence of similar crusading concepts in these languages has been well documented by literary critics and historians<sup>29</sup>. The existence of a corpus of "crusading literature" must rather depend on the criterion of which crusading concepts are to be found contained in the various poems, and in this way a purely national application of the collective term is too restrictive. Our analysis of the crusading concepts constituting the crusading idea as a whole presents criteria with regard to the content of crusading poetry by which the applicability of the term may be determined. Hölzle's definition of Kreuzzugsdichtung<sup>30</sup> - "Was immer sich an poetischen Zeugnissen auf Glaubenskriege bezieht,

gleichviel, ob das Heilige Land im Blickpunkt steht, ... ob die Kämpfe gegen die Mauren zur Sprache kommen, ... ob von den Ketzerkriegen die Rede ist, ... oder ob die Slawenzüge zitiert werden, ... immer wird man von Kreuzzugsdichtung sprechen können und sich mit mittelalterlichem Kreuzzugsverständnis im Einklang befinden." - is therefore valid when applied to the wide field of medieval European literature.

4. The systematic approach to analysing crusading concepts in the preceding chapters has enabled this study to concentrate reasonably exclusively on those aspects of MHG literature relating directly to the crusading idea and on the means employed by MHG poets to express their interpretation of it. Nevertheless, MHG crusading poetry participates in those problems and ideas with which the remainder of vorhöfische und höfische Dichtung concerns itself, and is related in the field of motif, structure and poetic experience, so that it is impossible to consider the one exclusively without noting certain parallels and connections of thought and motif in the other. Throughout this study, such parallels and avenues for further research, arising particularly out of the course of the study's development, have only been alluded to briefly in passing, so that the overall outline of the MHG representation of the crusading idea should not become blurred by any marginal excursions into the wider field of courtly literature. Nevertheless, although these parallels cannot be examined in any depth here, their further elucidation at this stage should place the conclusions of the present study in their true context

as representing a contribution to only one aspect of our overall understanding of the literature of medieval Germany.

In particular, our analysis of the more secular knightly attributes and the more temporal rewards of Minne, feudal benefices and personal aggrandisement invites parallels to the attempts in other MHG poems to reconcile a Christian life with knightly existence. The conflict between love for God, manifested in a desire to serve him by taking the Cross, and love for one's lady, inherent in the crusading poems of Albrecht von Johansdorf, Friedrich von Hausen and other Minnesänger, has parallels in the conflict between Minne and the duties of a knightly noble in Hartmann von Aue's Erec<sup>31</sup>. Hartmann's own solution of the conflict presented by the crusading vow in his lyric poetry is, as we have seen, closer to the demands of crusading propaganda on the knight to reject all temporal considerations, although this is only possible for Hartmann after the death of his liege lord<sup>32</sup>. But of more direct relevance for our study are the parallels with Moslem sources<sup>33</sup> and the need for a closer analysis of the interrelationship between Christian bellum sacrum and Arab ḡihād in the historical and vernacular sources of both sides<sup>34</sup>. In this way, a clearer picture of the origins of the crusading idea and of the interrelationship between Christian and Moslem religious thought would emerge. But it is not only the origins of the crusading idea in vernacular literature which are in need of further examination, for the decline of the crusading idea in the 13th and 14th Centuries also had its effect on the representation of crusading concepts



in later MHG literature. Even in Konrad's Rolandslied and the Spielmannsdichtung there are a number of epithets which already appear to be stereotype<sup>35</sup>, and in later crusading poetry the crusading idea exists (as already in the earlier Spielmannsdichtung) as mere background, or, and here the parallels with Walther von der Vogelweide's later lyrics are clearly visible, in a poetic criticism of the principles of knightly existence and of the Crusade as a redemptive institution<sup>36</sup>. In particular, the crusading poems of Neidhart and Tannhäuser reveal a considerable secularisation of the crusading idea, and a closer examination of the concepts employed for criticism in contrast to the concepts of traditional propaganda would be a valuable additional contribution to our understanding of the changing crusading idea in vernacular sources<sup>37</sup>. Similarly, the use of crusading material in the Spielmannsdichtung merits a closer analysis within the traditions of minstrel epic poetry and with particular reference to its function of presenting background description and creating a suitable Oriental atmosphere in the individual poems<sup>38</sup>.

In addition to the above-mentioned far-reaching suggestions for further research which this study has encountered and prompted, additional parallels and connections with motifs of MHG literature as a whole have arisen at various stages in the course of our analysis of individual concepts and epithets. Wolfram's reference to the rôle of the daughter's father in a love relationship between knight and lady (Wh. 11,19-23) is of significance for his views of Minne and of the importance he lays on the sanctity of marriage and the family. Also, his use of the

image herze in Wh. 109,7-16 is worthy of the Minnesang and has parallels in Friedrich von Hausen<sup>39</sup>. Walther's reference to fronebote (L 12,6), apart from the overtones of imperial ideology, also reveals another aspect to the relationship between medieval ruler, knight and God<sup>40</sup>. The rôle of the Raven in the Oswald legend is of importance for an analysis of the figure of the Spielmann and for the medieval animal-symbolism already noticed in respect of the sin of superbia<sup>41</sup>. Similarly, the representation of the Order of the Temple in crusading literature, in particular the negative light in which the Templars are portrayed in Orendel<sup>42</sup>, is of importance for the understanding by MHG poets of the idea of a novum militiae genus and of the demand for a total involvement of the knighthood in the crusading idea as propounded by St. Bernard.

These suggestions of parallels with the remainder of MHG poetry and of areas in which much remains to be done by modern research are intended to orientate the present study within the methodological scope of a historiographical approach to the interpretation of MHG poetry. By systematic comparison and juxtaposition of historical and poetic material, and by appropriate allowances for the didactic purposes of MHG poets in any attempts at historical conclusions, the reaction by MHG poets to the religious, political and social pressures on the knightly class in medieval Europe and the solution proposed by cleric and knightly poet for their public, can best be appreciated by the modern literary critic and historian.

5. It has already been intimated that, in the course of

the formation and development of the present study, various different emphases and modes of interpretation have become apparent and necessary for the organisation of the material under review. The aim of defining the vocabulary and phraseology of crusading terms in MHG and of collecting lexicographical items for the concepts constituting the crusading idea has been adhered to, so that the mass of collected material is of interest to both literary critic and historian from the standpoint of a linguistic analysis. The ideology of the imperial holy war is evident in the desire by the Emperor, who is by virtue of his theocratic position voget on this earth, to protect and expand (überwinden, gewaltigen, betwingen, zerstoeren) the bounds of the Empire (kristenheit, daz rîche) and in particular Christianity (touf, êwe). Political domination also includes conversion of the heathen (bekêren, gelouben, got êren) or they are condemned by God and the Emperor to death (vaig). The feudal ordering of medieval society (eigen, man, hêrre) is based on the principle of service (dienest) and reward (lôn, solt, lêhen, quot), and of trust between the two partners (triuwe). The transference of this social system to the relationship between knight and God places the knight on a special footing (gotes dienestman, gotes kint) and he receives the appropriate consolation from God (trôst). The parallels between the ideology of the Crusade and that of the pilgrimage mean that the Crusader is at the same time a pilgrim (bilgerîn, wallaere), whose aim is to free the Holy Land (Jerusalêm, daz heilige grap, vûeren über mer) and God's heritage which in the spiritualised sense is promised to his

servant (erbe). The redemptive nature of the undertaking (büezen, sünde, missetât erloesen) is present in the spirit of diemuot and symbolised by the kriuze on the Crusader's tunic. Redemptive chivalry entails a literal and symbolic imitatio Christi (nâchvolgen) with the aim of salvation (der sêle heil), and rejection of the values of this world (lâzen, opfern, scheiden). Nevertheless, MHG poets retain the knightly virtues of ruom, êre, prîs, lop, wirde, and the desire for the rewards of minne. The heavenly reward promised the Crusader (lôn, solt, himelrîche, gotes rîche, saelecheit, sêle heil, genâde, sedel, künicliche krône) entails martyrdom (marter kôr), and is counteracted by the material rewards also available (roup, golt, guot, gâbe, minne). The traditional attitude towards the heathen is one of religious censure, and they and their gods are associated with the Devil and damnation (gotes widerwarte, aechter der kristenheit, ungetouft, vervluochet, abgot). For this reason, their concern with material considerations (roup, êre, ruom, etc.; râche; minne) and their basic sins (vermezzzen, übermuot, gelfh, unkiusche) cause many derogatory epithets to be applied to them (unreine, hunt, grimmec, übel, etc.).

These MHG words and phrases and their equivalents represent the most frequently employed epithets for crusading thought in MHG literature, but they gain their specifically crusading import in the context of accounts of battles against the heathen, of journeys to the Holy Land and adventures there by knightly heroes with and against heathen knights, or of a personalised representation by MHG poets of the conflict between the temporal demands

of this world and the requirements of redemptive chivalry inherent in the decision to take the Cross. That is to say, it is the content and action of the poems concerned that imbues these epithets with crusading meaning. However, this study necessarily presents more than a mere semantic study of MHG vocabulary and phraseology, even if it has been necessary to illustrate that MHG poets also imbue certain of these epithets with different stress. Thus vermezzzen, when applied to the heathen knights, often has a predominantly negative meaning associated with the sin of superbia, but in later MHG poetry this epithet is ambivalent or positive and associated with the knightly qualities of bravery in battle<sup>43</sup>. It has rather proved more profitable to analyse the various poetic means for expressing a particular concept representing part of the crusading idea in comparison with and in contrast to its presentation in crusading propaganda and chronicles; in this way, the orthodoxy or individuality of the individual poets has been revealed. Similarly, a poet's understanding of a particular concept has often been influenced by the restrictions of his source, and the present analysis has been able to note such irregularities<sup>44</sup>. But above all, by concentrating on the presentation of crusading concepts by MHG poets, whether these be orthodox or an individual interpretation of them, it has been possible to illuminate the understanding of the crusading idea as a whole by a group of representative MHG poets. In order to arrive at this overall picture of what the crusading experience and idea mean for individual MHG poets, this method of analysing the interrelationship of various

crusading concepts with the crusading idea in MHG poetry  
has proved the appropriate starting-point.

Footnotes to the Conclusion

- 1 Cf. Naumann, FS Gustav Ehrismann, pp. 80-101, and above, Chapter 6, pp. 467 ff.
- 2 Cf. the campaigns against the Moors in Spain, and the proclamation of a crusading expedition against the Wends at the same time as the Second Crusade; Mayer, Geschichte, pp. 26 and 102 ff.; Runciman, History, I, pp. 88 ff., and II, pp. 255 f.; Waas, Geschichte, I, pp. 96 ff., and 166 ff.; Erdmann, Entstehung, pp. 124 ff., and 347 ff.; Kahl, in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, pp. 275 ff.; etc.
- 3 Cf. Runciman, History, III, pp. 435 ff.; Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 213 ff.; etc.
- 4 Cf. above, Chapter 3, pp. 264 ff.
- 5 Cf. Waas, Geschichte, I, pp. 106 ff.
- 6 Hölzle, FS Kurt Herbert Halbach, pp. 55-72; Müller, FS Wolfgang Mohr, pp. 251-80; and introduction to Kreuzzugsdichtung, ed. Müller, p. V.
- 7 Szklenar, Studien zum Bild des Orients, pp. 15 ff.; Müller, FS Wolfgang Mohr, pp. 266 f.
- 8 Szklenar, Studien zum Bild des Orients, pp. 16 ff.; and 21; Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 278 ff.
- 9 Szklenar, Studien zum Bild des Orients, pp. 20 f.; Kaplowitt, Influences and Reflections, I, pp. 50 ff.
- 10 Schröder, Spielmannsepik, p. 15.
- 11 Ibid., p. 33.
- 12 Ibid., p. 48.
- 13 Ibid., p. 72.
- 14 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 124 f.
- 15 Kaplowitt, Influences and Reflections, I, pp. 94 ff.
- 16 Cf. above, Chapter 3, pp. 275 ff.
- 17 Szklenar, Studien zum Bild des Orients, pp. 25 f.; cf. also above, Chapter 3, pp. 276 f.
- 18 The present analysis has gone a long way to confirming the observations of Hölzle, FS Kurt Herbert Halbach, pp. 55-72.
- 19 For this comparison, cf. above Chapter 2, pp. 165 f., and 181 ff.; Chapter 4, pp. 328 f.; and Chapter 5, pp. 379 f., 382 f., 385 f., and 390 f.
- 20 Cf. above, Chapter 2, pp. 167 ff.; and Chapter 5, pp. 400 f.

- 21 Cf. Ashcroft, The exemplary depiction of character in Konrad's Rolandslied, pp. 456 ff.
- 22 Cf. above, Chapter 1, pp. 71 ff.; also Walther's references to imperial leadership of the Crusades, pp. 102 f.
- 23 Cf. Hartmann's relationship with his earthly liege lord and his decision, after the lord's death, to take the Cross and serve his heavenly liege lord by military service against the heathen: above, Chapter 2, pp. 168 f.
- 24 Cf. Chapter 3, pp. 245 f., and 248.
- 25 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 278 ff. Kaplowitt's aim to extend the selection of literature in his study to include works of non-crusading content (Influences and Reflections, I, pp. xxii ff.) is a valid one, and the method of analysing theological concepts used in the present study could well be extended to a wider selection of MHG poems. Kaplowitt's chronological approach to the poems he analyses precludes a systematic study of such concepts (cf. above, Introduction, p. 32).
- 26 Cf. above, Chapter 2, pp. 60 f., and the quotations from Wolfram and Walther.
- 27 Hölzle, FS Kurt Herbert Halbach, p. 72.
- 28 Müller, FS Wolfgang Mohr, p. 254.
- 29 Hölzle, FS Kurt Herbert Halbach, pp. 59 ff.; Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 43 ff., 77 ff., 151 ff., and 229 ff.; cf. also Kreuzzugsdichtung, ed. Müller, Nos. 5, 9-11, 14, 18-22, 50, 53 f., 77, 85, and 93; Richter, Kommentar, I, passim; Wolfram von Eschenbach, Willehalm, ed. Kartschoke, pp. 266 ff.; Mergell, Wolfram und seine französischen Quellen, I, passim; etc.
- 30 Hölzle, FS Kurt Herbert Halbach, p. 72.
- 31 Erec, ed. A. Leitzmann, Tübingen, 1967 (ATB, 39), particularly his sin of verligen, Erec 2924-97. Cf. also, P. Wapnewski, Hartmann von Aue, 3rd ed., Stuttgart, 1967 (Sammlung Metzler, M17), p. 46.
- 32 Cf. above, Chapter 4, pp. 334 f.
- 33 Cf. also Chapter 1, p. 87 and notes 112-16.
- 34 Noth, Heiliger Krieg, pp. 139 ff., and 147 ff.
- 35 Cf. Konrad's references to heavenly reward, Chapter 5, pp. 379 f., etc., and the analysis of parallel motifs in the Spielmannsdichtung, in Benath, PBB (H) 84 (1962), pp. 312-72, and 85 (1963), pp. 374-416.
- 36 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 296 ff.
- 37 In this respect, Böhmer, Untersuchungen, pp. 33 ff., et passim, represents a suitable starting-point, despite her reluctance to refer to historical sources.



- 38 Szklenar, Studien zum Bild des Orients, omits an analysis of the background use of crusading material in St. Oswald, Orendel, and Salman und Morolf.
- 39 Cf. Ingebrand, Interpretationen, pp. 9 ff.
- 40 Cf. Müller, ZfdPh 90 (1971), Sonderheft, pp. 133-6.
- 41 Hempel, Übermuot, pp. 201 ff.
- 42 Cf. above, Chapter 4, pp. 347 f.
- 43 Hempel, Übermuot, pp. 118 ff.
- 44 Cf. Konrad's treatment of the horn scene in his poem, especially the words by Olivir in RL 3864-7 (orthodoxly "crusading", in so far as they express the Entsagungsgeist of the miles Christi) and RL 3868 f., which contradict the lines before.

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(Note : Section 1 contains all medieval sources, Section 2 all works of secondary literature which have been quoted or referred to in the footnotes).

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